

THE ORISSA HISTORICAL RESEARCH JOURNAL

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For Information of the Contributors of Articles to the Orissa Historical Research Journal

1. The Journal is scheduled to be published quarterly, in June, September, December and March.

2. All papers for the Journal are to be sent to the Superintendent, Research & Museum, Bhubaneswar Capital, Orissa.

3. Papers should be thoroughly corrected before submission and neatly typed on one side only.

4. Photographic prints or diagrams should be quite clear to bring out details in the blocks.

5. Following system to be adopted for transliteration.

अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, औ,
 ai, au,
 (Anusvāra) = m : (Visarga) = h
 ण na, न na, ट ta, ठ tha, ड da, ढ dha, ण na, य ya
 श sa, ष sha, स sa, ल la

6. Paper dealing with the following subjects will be accepted for publication.

- (i) Topics on Indian or Orissan History.
- (ii) History of Oriya language and literature.
- (iii) Religious Cults.
- (iv) Anthropology, Ethnology and Folk-lore.
- (v) Archaeology.
- (vi) Art and Architecture.
- (vii) Numismatics.
- (viii) Epigraphy.
- (ix) Historical Geography and
- (x) Topics based on old records.

7. Contributors will be supplied with 25 reprints of their articles.

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No. 1

THREE ANCIENT NAGA IMAGES FROM BHUBANESWAR AND NAGA CULT IN ORISSA

S. C. De.

In a small hut at the southern outskirt of the village Sundarpada, two miles away from the Bhubaneswar town, are installed three colossal images of Nāga rāja and his two queen-consorts (?). They are worshipped by the villagers as village-deities. Some other fragments of sculpture, like, a lotus flower, portion of a Chaitya window and the bust of a small image of Avalokiteśvara are also kept along with those images. These were discovered by Sri Surya Narayan Das who brought them to the notice of the writer.

The three sculptures are all standing images. They are kept arranged in a line with the Nāga figure in the middle. The height of the Nāgi on the right side is 6' 2". She stands in a majestic pose with two hands at the hip. She is decked with heavy ear-rings, a broad necklace, heavy bracelets, and thick spiral-type anklets. She has a plain girdle adorning her waist. She wears a *dhoti*, the ends of which are folded into *kuñcha* and hangs down between her two legs. The upper garment, or scarf, which passes around her neck and over her breasts is held on the two sides of the hip and the two ends of it come flowing down upto her feet on either side. The hair is dressed to form three knots resembling hoods of a snake. Behind her are to be found the heavy coils of a snake whose five hoods form a canopy over her head. (Pl. 1.)

The middle figure is Naga rāja (5' 8" × 2' 6") with a round face, bulging cheeks and a pot belly. He stands majestically with the left hand resting on the hip and the right hand raised to the level of the breast. The object held in the right hand has been effaced beyond recognition. He wears a *dhoti* in the same way as in case of the Nāgi mentioned above. He is adorned with a tiara

on the head, necklace, heavy bangles and armlets. The armlets are of special type; a semi-oval projection is attached to the ring of the armlet, as if, meant to protect the arm against sword-attacks. The two ends of the *uttariya* which passes around the neck and over the arms hang down in folds on two sides. Besides the *uttariya*, another piece of cloth is tied loosely around the waist in the form of a belt for carrying daggers; it is bunched into a loose knot on the left side of the hip from which the two ends hang down in folds. (Pl. 2.)

The third figure to the proper left of the Nāgarāja is the image of a Nāgi (4' 3" × 2' 6"), the lower portion of which is broken near the ankles. So, it was probably of the same size as the Nāgi figure on the proper right. The two Nāgi figures are almost of the same type in respect of their pose, hair-dressing, ornaments, etc.. They only differ in the manner of clothing. The Nāgi under reference has no *kuñcha* as in case of the one to the proper right of the Nāga figure. She has, besides the scarf, a second upper garment which goes round the waist, and is bunched loosely on the left side about the upper portion of the thigh with the two ends hanging down. (Pl. 3.)

Date—In the absence of any inscription, or other information relating to their original site and back-ground, it is difficult to determine the age of the sculptures with any degree of certainty. We have only to depend on the style of carving and other special features of the sculptures under reference.

Whatever may be the actual age of the sculptures, there can be hardly any doubt about the fact that they belong to a very early stage in the evolution of plastic art in Orissa. It is also certain that the sculptures belong to Post-Asokan period. Now, the question is, whether they can be placed along with the sculptures in the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills of Bhubaneswar, or can be assigned to a latter date.

As compared with the figures in the sculptures of Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves, the images under reference appear heavy, innate and crude. They lack the flexibility and liveliness that characterise the human figures in the caves of the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills. From artistic point of view, they certainly appear cruder. Besides, there are certain other features that mark them out from the sculptures of the Jaina caves of Bhubaneswar.

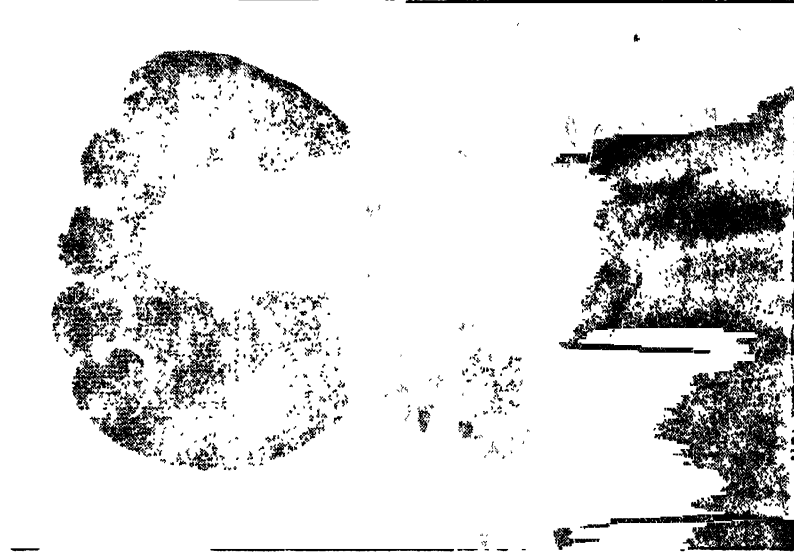
In none of the sculptures of the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills do we find human figures with their loin cloth coming down to the ankles. Secondly, in case of almost all the human figures in Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills, a tape-like small piece of cloth is tied round the waist like a waist-band with two small ends hanging down in front. But in case of the Nāgarāja and the Nāgi to his left, a piece of cloth, besides the scarf, is tied loosely around the hip region with ends hanging down on the left side of the figures. There are other small points of difference in the details of ornamentation, like, the armlet of the Nāga which is a new type. Thus, the images do not appear to belong to the same age, as the sculptures of the Jaina caves of Bhubaneswar.

There are some other points which have to be taken notice of before an approximate age of the images is fixed.

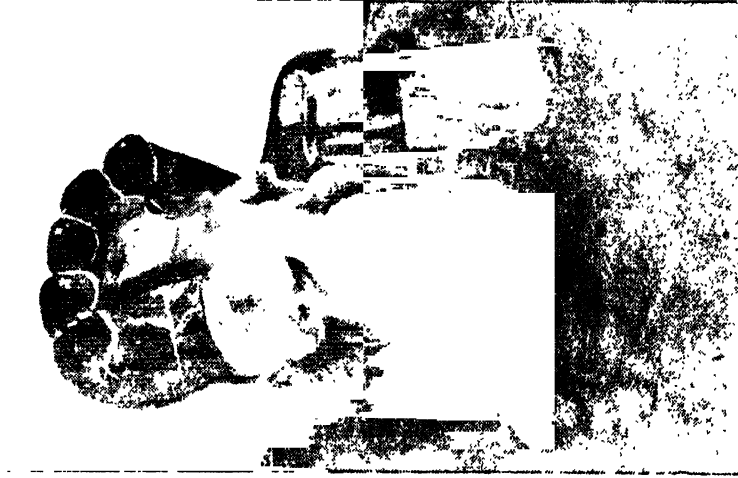
I may mention here that two other Nāga figures of about the same age as that of the sculptures under discussion were discovered in the same area. They are now preserved in the Museum. The upper half of the bigger one is



Nāgī (right), Sundarpada.



Nāgī (right), Sundarpada.



Nāgī (left) Sundarpada



Nāga image Orissa Museum

broken ; as it is, it measures $47\frac{1}{2}'' \times 24''$. Evidently, it was about size as the Nāga-rāja under reference. Nothing can be said about hands and face. It has a pot-belly ; the upper garment is tied about the waist with two ends hanging in folds on the left side. (Pl. 4.)

The second image ($47\frac{1}{2}'' \times 23''$) is in tact, but it is much defaced by long exposure. Its head-dress and drapery are not clearly discernable. Its right hand is raised and left hand hanging down. There is a five-hooded snake with coils in the back-ground.

The anthropomorphic life-size representation of the deities with huge coils of serpent in the back and a canopy of five hoods over the head are special features that are worth noticing. Unfortunately for us, there are no such figures of Nāga or Nāgi in the sculptures of Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills. But the Nāgas and Nāgis in Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati sculptures are human figures with a snake head of three, five, or seven hoods in case of Nāgarāja, and one hood in case of Nāgis over their heads¹. The Theriomorphic representations of Nāga are also met with². But we do not come across Nāga figures with a separate coiled serpent in the back-ground. In the Gandhara sculpture, Nāgas with human figure and a coiled snake behind make their appearance for the first time.³ Of course, the earlier form of representation of the Nāga figures was also adopted in Gandhara sculpture⁴. Next, in the Mathura School of Art, Nāgas were represented as life-size bulky human figures with heavy coils of serpent in the back-ground and a polycephalous snake head with spread-out hoods over the head, just as we find in case of the sculptures under reference.⁵ Representation of Nāgas as human figures with coils of a snake in the back and its seven or five hoods spread out over the head continued even in the Gupta period.

In this connection, Vogel writes, "From an iconographical point of view the ancient Nāga images of Mathura exhibit certain features which deserve to be briefly noted. The hood of serpent-heads, here usually seven in number, assumes the appearance of a circular nimbus round the head of the deity. This development is, no doubt, due to the halo having been introduced by the Graco-Buddhist school as a necessary adjunct of Buddha and Bodhisattva figures. In most Nāga images from Mathura it is quite clear that the hood is not conceived as an excrescence springing from the back of the human frame. It forms part of a complete serpent whose coils are plainly visible both at the front and at the back of the sculpture. The artist, therefore, gives expression to the dual nature of the snake-demon by portraying a human being standing in front of a polycephalous serpent. "This mode of rendering the Nāga remained in vogue during the later phases of Indo-Buddhist art. A very fine specimen of a seated Naga was found on the site of Nalanda in the course of excavations carried out in the cold season of 1920.¹ (Plate XIV.)"

1. (a) *Monuments of Sanchi*, pl. 65, a2;
(b) Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore*, pls. II (a), X (b),
2. (a) *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. II, pl. 52 a;
(b) Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore*, pls. III, X (a).
3. *Indian Serpent-Lore*, pl. VIII b.
4. *Ibid*, pl. IX (a & p)
5. *A. S. I. R.* (1908-09), pls. LIII & LIV.
6. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 42.43.

It is to be noted in this connection that Nāgas, in Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati or Gandhara Sculpture are treated as subsidiary deities praying Buddha. But, in the Mathura School of Art they are represented as independent deities worshipped by people. In the inscription on the Kaikālī Tīā Nāga figure, the image is described as Dadhikarṇa, the divine lord of snakes (*Bhagavato Nāgendrasya Dadhikarṇasya*). Similarly, in the inscription on the Chhargaon Nāga figure, the Nāga is addressed as Lord Nāga [*Bhagava Nāgo*]⁸. So, it is clear that the images were worshipped as independent cult-images.

The Nāga and Nāgi images found at Bhubaneswar can be safely taken to be independent cult-images of the place. The find of three Nāga images and two Nāgi images leaves little room for doubt that, like Mathura, Bhubaneswar was one important centre of snake worship in Orissa.

Coming to the age of the deities, we have already noted that the sculptures can not be assigned to the age of Khandagiri and Udaygiri sculptures. From the above discussions it would appear that sculpturally the figures are more akin to the Mathura Nāga images than to the figures in Jaina caves of Bhubaneswar. It is also interesting to note that the style of wearing lion cloth of the broken Nāga figure is almost the same as that of the Nāga figure discovered at Sanchi which is assigned to 1st.—2nd. century A. D. The upper garment, in case of the Museum image, is bunched on the left side, while it is bunched on two sides in case of the Sanchi images.⁹

In consideration of above facts the images under discussion may be assigned approximately to the same period as the Mathura Nāga images, that is. to the first, or second century A. D.

Before dealing with the historical significance of the images, we may see how the plastic representation of Nāga and Nāgi images in Orissa changed from age to age till the 13th century A. D. when the celebrated temple of Konarka was constructed.

We have a few specimen of sculptural representation of Nāga and Nāgi of the post-Gupta period about 7th century A. D. One of them consisting only of the bust portion, is to be found in front of the Suvarna Jaleswar temple of Bhubaneswar. The image has a seven-headed snake with out-spread hoods over his head. He holds between his palms a pot on the level of his breast (Pl. 5). Two standing Nāga figures of the same type are sculptured on the two door jambs of the Sisireswar temple of Bhubaneswar. They are also assignable to circa 7th century A. D. In another frieze depicting Kāliyadamana scene, Nāga-rāja and his consorts are represented as half-human and half-serpent. The bust portion is in form of a human being, while the lower portion, from waist downward, is a serpent's tail. The head of Nāga-rāja is surmounted by a seven-hooded snake-head, while the Nāgis have three-hooded snake-head over them. The sculpture, which is preserved in Museum, is assignable to circa 7th century A. D. (Pl. 6.)

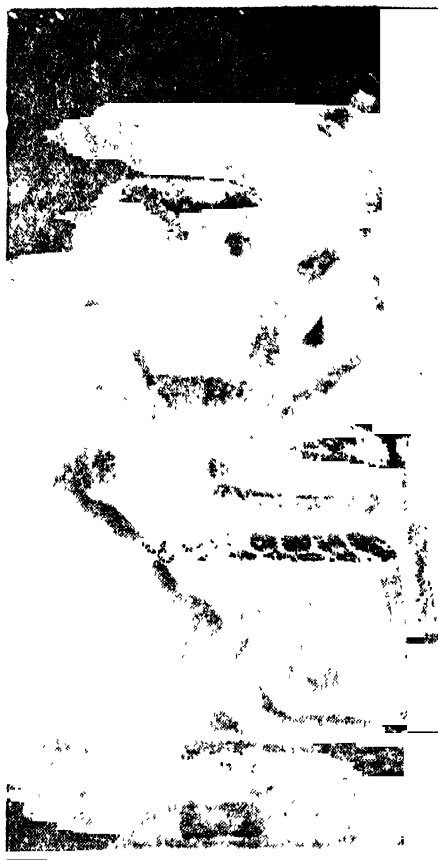
From this time onwards till the 13th century A. D., when the famous Konarka temple was constructed, very fine images of Nāgas decorated the walls of the medieval temples of Orissa. These Nāgas, as decorative motifs, are represented as human beings with serpent tails.

8. *A. S. I. R.* (1908-09), pp. 159-60.

9. *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. III, Pl, 124 c.

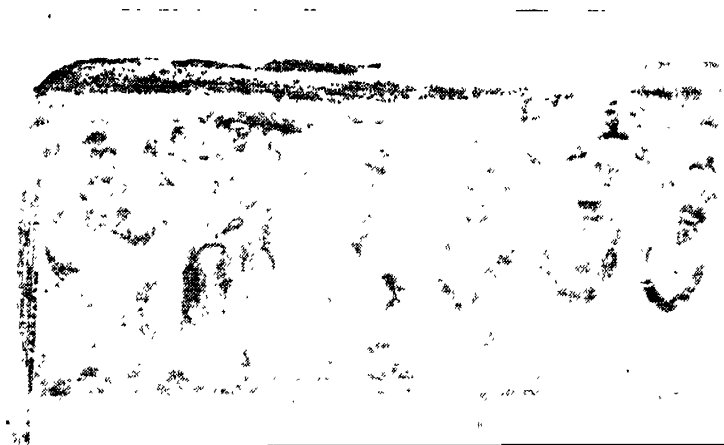


Bust of a Nāga image in front of
Svarnajālesvara temple, Bhubaneswar.



Astika and Manasā
Orissa Museum.

PLATE 6



Kaliyadomana scene, Orissa Museum.

A part from the Nāga and Nāgī images of the decorative type just mentioned, figures of Nāgas and Nāgīs used as cult-images have been discovered the different parts of Orissa. Sometimes there are two snakes in two hands of such images, and sometimes, the right hand is shown in *Vṛada* pose, while in the left hand is held a snake. In the book, '*The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*', are given description of two such images which are identified as Manasā and Sasṭhī.¹⁰ Manasā is seated in *lalitāsana* and holds a pot in the left and shows *varada mudrā* in the right hand. Around her head, the hoods of a snake is spread out in form of a nimbus. Sasṭhī has a child on her left thigh whom she supports with her left hand. In the right she holds a cobra. A seven-hooded snake forms a canopy on her head.

Another sculpture of peculiar type which is found in different parts of Orissa deserves mention here. A female figure seated in *Lalita* pose holds a youngman in her lap, as if, he is but a little baby. On the pedestal there are the emblems of a hooded snake, and a worshipper or two with folded hands. There is a tree in the back-ground. This sculpture has been found at Mantri, Ayodhya and Domogandra.

According to N. N. Vasu, the female figure is Gautamī and the youngman is Śākyaśiṃha.¹¹ A similar image was found by the writer at Palia in Bhadrak.¹² In the Museum, a similar sculpture is preserved. The youngman has moustaches and his head gear is of a peculiar type. As the upper portion of the stone is broken, it can not be said whether there was a tree in the background, as in case of other sculptures noted above. The identification of this type of sculpture is yet doubtful. The figures may be Gautamī and Śākyaśiṃha or Manasā and her son Āstika. (Pl. 7.)

Thus, serpent-worship prevailed from the remote period of about first or second Century A. D. down to the Medieval period in Orissa. Even now serpents are worshipped on certain days of the year, specially on the Nāga Chaturthi day, (4th day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika).

Mathura was a centre of Nāga Cult in the Kushan period. In this connection Vogel writes "āga images which have been noticed all belong to the Kushan period, when evidently the Cult of Nāgas flourished in Mathura district side by side with Buddhism and Jainism."¹³ About the same period, Bhubaneswar was also a centre of Nāga Cult. Not only that, the images of Mathura and Bhubaneswar are sculpturally of similar type.

In the light of the above discussion, it may not appear unlikely that there was some link between the Kushan art of Mathura and the art of Bhubaneswar. The presumption seems quite probable in view of the facts that the style of the later periods of Amaravati more resembles that of Mathura in the Kushan period¹⁴ and that two Buddha images of the Goli stupa assignable to the 3rd century A. D. are carved in the Kushan style.¹⁵ If the Kushan Art could influence the sculpture of Amaravati and Goli stupas, it could also be assumed to have influenced the Orissas art to some extent, directly or indirectly.

10. Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj* Vol I, Pl. facing, p. XXVIII, Introduction.

11. *Ibid*, Introduction, pp. XLVIII XLIX, pls. 24, 25, 26.

12. O. H. R. J. Vol. I, No. 4, p. 263.

13. A. S. R. I. R., 1908 09 p. 162.

14. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculpture*, p. 26.

15. Ramchandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli village, Gunter District*, p. 23.

ANTIQUITY OF JAGANNĀTHA-PURĪ AS A PLACE OF PILGRIMAGE.

By Sri K. N. Mahapatra, B. A. (Hons), D. Ed.,
Assistant Curator,

Late M. M. Chakravarti made the first attempt to fix the date of the existing Jagannātha Temple at Puri with the help of the epigraphic records that were available in his time¹. After some forty years, Paṇḍita Binayaka Mishra made a critical study of the folk-lore and some Purāṇas, namely, *Kūrma Purāṇa*, *Nārada Purāṇa*, *Padma Purāṇa*, and also the *Vishnu Khanda* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* which contains the Purushottama Mahātmya, to trace the origin of Jagannātha and the antiquity of the Purushottama kshetra². But the date of these *Purāṇas* is still a subject of controversy. So, I have made an attempt to trace the antiquity of Jagannātha-Purī with the help of some epigraphic records and literary works, the dates of which are approximately correct.

Jagannāth, as a synonym of either a Buddhist or Brāhmanical deity does not find mention in the popular lexicon '*Nāmalingānuśāsanam*' of the celebrated lexicographer, Amar-sinha, which was compiled in the fourth century A. D.³. The first mention of Jagannātha, as the manifestation of the Buddha is found in the work, '*Jñānasiddhi*'⁴ of Indrabhūti, the king of Uddiyāna, who was the founder of the Vajrayāna system of the Buddhism. The author begins this work after offering his prayer to Jāgannātha Buddha, in its *Mangalācharana* :—

प्रणिपत्य जगन्नाथं सर्वजिनवराच्चितं

सर्वबुद्धमयं सिद्धिव्याप्तिं गगनोपमं ॥

(First verse of Chapter I)

Jagannātha is mentioned in four other verses of this work e. g.

सः गुरुः शिष्यसंग्राही सर्वबुद्धानुकारकः

इत्युवाच जगन्नाथो नान्ये वै गुरवः स्मृताः ॥

(Verse 27 of Chapter I)

1. Date of the Jagannatha Temple in Puri, *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, pp. 328-331.
2. Folklore and Puranic Tradition about the origin of God Jagannatha *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIII, 1937, pp. 601-609.
3. *Nāmalingānusāsanam* published with the commentary of Khira Suami by Dr. H. D. Sharma and Dr. N. G. Sardesai,
4. *Two Vajrayana works*, published by O. R. Institute, Baroda.

तान् प्रयुक्ता जगन्नाथः वज्रसत्त्वविभावनैः

भुजवर्णसमायुक्त मुद्रामण्डलकै स्तथा ॥

(Verse 92 of Chapter I)

अतएव जगन्नाथा बालानां प्रति बोधने

निर्वाणं दर्शयन्त्येव रूपस्यानित्य दर्शकाः ॥

(Verse 28 of Chapter II)

सर्वज्ञः सर्वदर्शी च सर्वलोकार्थकारकः

तत्र तत्र जगन्नाथैः दर्शितः करुणात्मभिः

(Verse 8 of Chapter V)

Jagannāth, propitiated by Īndrabhūti in the beginning of his work, can be identified with Jagannātha at Puri for the reasons given below.

(a) The image of Jagannātha, be it Brahmanical, or Buddhist, in origin, is not found anywhere else in ancient India except at Puri. The images of Jagannātha that are to be seen in various other places of Orissa, Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra were carved in imitation of the image of Jagannātha at Puri which has got a long history behind it.

(b) Traditions regarding the Buddhist origin of Jagannātha are current in Orissa for centuries, and have found expression in the Oriya literature of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁵. The Buddhist origin of Jagannātha also finds mention in the literature of the Dharma cult written in old Bengali language which will be evident from the quotation given below.

“In the esoteric Buddhist literature the epithet Jagannātha (i. e., the lord of the world) is widely used before Buddha or rather the Lord Supreme, and it is also a well-known adjective used before the Lord Supreme of the Hindus and thus through the medium of the epithet Jagannātha, the first of the three jewels could very easily be Hinduised and the Hinduisation of the other two was but a matter of course. This theory of the transformation of Buddha, the first jewel of the Buddhists, into Jagannātha (and later on frankly conceived as Kṛṣṇa) has its corroboration in the tradition of the literature of the Dharma cult. Jayadeva, the famous Vaisnava lyric poet, described Buddha as the 9th incarnation of Viṣṇu, and in the literature of the Dharma cult we find in connection with the description of the incarnations of God that in the 9th incarnation God was born as Jagannātha, who is none but lord Buddha, and he settled his residence on the sea-coast, where he has relieved the whole world by distributing to all (irrespective of caste and creed) his Prasāda (i. e., the food offered to God and supposed to be accepted by him).

It may be pointed out here that in the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, inscribed on the gateway of the temple of Jagannātha in Puri, Buddha, the 9th incarnation, has been replaced by Jagannātha⁶.

(c) In the famous Tāntric works, like, Kālikā Purāṇa, Rudra-yāmala, Brahmayāmala, Tantra yāmala, which were compiled before circa 1150 A. D.,

5. *Orissan Vaishnavism* by Sri P. Mukherjee, pp. 92-112.

6. *Obscure Religious cults* by S. P. Dasgupta, p. 319.

Jagannāth is described as the famous deity of Odra or Utkala. There being no other deity bearing that name any where else in India before circa 950 A. D., it will be quite justifiable to identify Jagannātha, mentioned by Indrabhūti, with the celebrated deity at Puri.

(d) The Jñānasiddhi by Indrabhūti is stated in its colophon to have been written in the Oḍḍiyāna Pīṭha e. g.

श्री मदोडियान विनिर्गता ज्ञानसिद्धिर्नाम साधनोपायिक ।

समाप्ता । कृतिरियं श्री इन्द्रभूति पादानाम् ॥”

This Oḍḍiyāna Pīṭha can be identified with the Odra Pīṭha which is eulogised in the Kālikā Purāṇa as the first Tāntric Pīṭha in India. e. g.

ओड्राण्यं प्रथमं पीठं द्वितीयं जालशैलकं

तृतीयं पूर्णपीठन्तु कामरूपं चतुर्थकं ॥

ओड्रपीठं पश्चिमेतु तथैवोद्देश्वरीं शिवां

कात्यायिनीं जगन्नाथ मोक्षेश्च प्रजयेत् । (१)

Jagannātha who is described as ‘Odraśa’ or the supreme deity of the Odrapīṭha in the Kālikā Purāṇa can be identified with Jagannātha of the Oḍḍiyāna Pīṭha, where Jñānasiddhi was written. Regarding the identification of Oḍḍiyāna with Orissa, the arguments put forth by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, an authority on Vajrayāna system, are quoted below, as they are quite convincing.

“There is a great deal of controversy regarding the identification of Uḍḍiyāna; some hold it is the same as Uchang-na of Hiuen Tsang or Udyāna in the Swat valley in the North-western Frontier Province, but many others are of opinion that it is the same as Orissa. The latter theory seems probable, for Uḍḍiyāna must be a place where Vajrayāna flourished, and a place where we should expect to find some Vajrayāna images. Sādhana-mālā mentions four pīṭhas or sacred spots of Vajrayāna, namely Kāmākhyā, Serihattā, Pūrnagiri and Uḍḍiyāna and Uḍḍiyāna must be a place not very far off from Kāmākhyā and Serihattā. Moreover, in the Sādhana-mālā there is a Sādhana for the worship of a four-armed variety of Kurukullā, which goes by the name of Uḍḍiyāna-Kurukullā or Kurukullā as worshipped in Uḍḍiyāna. Images of this deity is extremely rare and if we are to believe the testimony of Mr. N. N. Vasu the only image of this variety of Kurukullā has been discovered in Orissa. Lastly in Buddhist manuscripts of the Tāntric period, the variants, Oḍḍa, Odra, Udra, Oḍavisā, Oḍiyāna, are mentioned, and all these seem to be variants of Uḍḍiyāna. All this evidence, combined together, points to the identification, of Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa, where innumerable images belonging to the Vajrayāna school have been discovered. Against the first theory identifying Uḍḍiyāna with Udyāna several arguments may be brought forward. We have no evidence that Tantra in the form of Vajrayāna ever flourished in Udyāna, nor a single Tāntric image is reported to have been discovered there, though much earlier images of the Gāndhāra school are daily coming out from this site. It is, moreover, improbable that Uḍḍiyāna being one of the four Pīṭhas would

be two thousand miles away from two others, Kāmākhyā and Sirihatṭa, which are contiguous. In view of these facts we may conveniently identify Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa and set aside its identification with Udyāna”⁸ This conclusion of Dr. Bhattacharyya is now corroborated by the discovery of an image of Kurukullā in the village of Kurukurā not far from the Devī river in the district of Cuttack.

Thus Jagannātha propitiated by Indrabhūti is no other than Jagannātha at Puri, whose Buddhist origin is recognised in early Oriya and Bengali literature. So *Jñānasiddhi*, which was written in circa 717 A. D., furnishes the earliest authentic evidence, so far available, regarding the antiquity of Jagannātha at Puri, whose fame must have spread before the eighth century.

According to tradition, Śaṅkarāchāryya (738-820 A. D.) in course of his spiritual conquest of India, stayed at Puri, which was well-known by his time, and founded one of his four Pīthās there, the other three being founded in Sringerī (Mysore State). Dvārakā and Badarikāśrama. This Pītha, known as the Bhogavardhana Pītha, still exists there. Padmapāla Āchāryya, one of Śaṅkarāchāryya’s four chief disciples, was also a Nambutiri Brāhmaṇa like his Guru.⁹ He was placed as the first Guru or spiritual guide in this Pītha at Puri. According to *Madalā Pāñjī*, the images of Śaṅkara and Padmapāda, used to be worshipped on the *Ratnasimhāsana* of Jagannātha, till the time of Rājā Divyasimha Deva of Khurda (1487-1793), when they were removed from that place and were later on broken by the Vaishṇavas e. g.

रत्नसिंहासन कान्ति बसाइले । एथिरु शङ्कराचार्यङ्कु पदमाचार्यङ्कु बाहारकरि
दखिणघरे रखिथिले । पुनश्च केते दिन उत्तारु एहाङ्कुनेइ सिद्धासने विजे कराइले ।
बैष्णवे भाङ्गिले ¹⁰

The literary evidence regarding Śaṅkara’s stay at Puri, as corroborated by traditions appears to be based on truth. Traditions regarding Śaṅkara also inform us that during his stay at Puri, he defeated the Buddhist Paṇḍits by his vast learning and irrefutable arguments; converted many of them to his own faith and proclaimed Jagannātha as identical with the great Brāhmaṇical God, Purushottama of the Gītā.

It also seems probable, though definite evidence is still lacking, that Śaṅkarāchāryya converted Jagannāth from a Buddhist to a Brāhmaṇical deity to strengthen the influence of Brāhmaṇism at Jagannātha—Puri, which was a strong centre of Buddhism before his time.

We now turn to the ‘*Anargharāghava Nāṭakaṃ*’ by Murāri Miśra, written within half a century of Śaṅkar’s visit to Puri. This drama was

8. *Buddhist Iconography*, by Dr. B. Bhattacharya, Introduction, p. xxvii.

9. The three great philosophers of Kerala by K. R. Pisharoti, *I. H. Q.* Vol. V, 1929, p. 686.

10. *Madala Panji* published by the Prachi Samiti, p. 81.

presented at the time of a festival (*Yatrā*) of God Purushottama who was being worshipped on the sea-shore :—

“नान्द्यन्ते सूत्रधारः—अलमतिविस्तरेण । भो भो
लवणोद-वेला-वनाली तमालतरु कन्दलस्य त्रिभुवन—
मौलि-मण्डन-महानीलमणेः कमला-कुच-कलश—
केलि-कस्तूरिका पत्राङ्क रस्य भगवतः पुरुषोत्तमस्य
यात्रायां मुपस्थानीया सभासदः”¹¹

This world-famous God, Purushottama, the consort of Kamalā, worshipped on the sea-shore, in whose *yatrā*, this great drama was presented before an audience of learned people, can be no other than Jagannātha at Puri, who must have been well-known throughout India, by the time of Murāri, who is assigned to the 9th century A. D.¹² Murari, who wrote his drama ‘*Anargha Rāghava*’ in imitation of *Mahvīra charita* of Bhababhūti, got it performed, at the time of the *yatrā* (perhaps car-festival) of god Purushottama at Puri, who must have been the family-deity of his royal patron, whose name is not given.

The next question, which deserves consideration, is whether there was a temple of Purushottama at that time. Dr. S N. Dasgupta and Dr. S. K. De write in this connection as follows :—

“We are told that this drama was presented at the procession (*yatrā*) of Purushottama ; this cannot, in the absence of historical knowledge of the time of construction of the Jagannātha temple at Puri, refer to the deity in particular”.¹³ The existence of a temple of Purushottama at the time of Murari cannot be doubted as this deity, had earned great celebrity before his days, for whom a temple might have been constructed by some unknown ruler of Orissa. This fact is mentioned in the *Prabodha Chandrodaya Nāṭakam*, written in circa 1050 A. D. It appears that Puri had become a famous place of pilgrimage, throughout India before the end of the 9th century.

This view is corroborated by the reference to Jagannātha in the list of synonyms of Vishṇu in the lexicon, ‘*Trikāṇḍaśeṣha*’, by Purushottama Deva, who flourished before the famous Rājasekhara¹⁴ some time in the 9th century :—

हेम शङ्खः शतावर्तो मनु-शाश्वत-वारीशः
बद्धमानः सतानन्दो जगन्नाथः सुयामुनः¹⁵

The word, Jagannātha in all probability was for the first time used as a synonym of Vishṇu in the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣha*. Thus, when *Trikāṇḍaśeṣha* was

11. *Anargha Raghava Natakam*, Act I, p. 8, published in Nirṇaya Sagara Press.

12. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, by Dr. Dasgupta and Dr. De, Vol. I, Classical period, p. 449.

13. *Ibid.* p.

14. Purushottama Deva, the Lexicographer, *O. H. R. J.* Vol. II, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 64-80.

15. *Trikāṇḍaśeṣha*, Svargavarga, verse, 32

compiled, Jagannātha of Puri was already acknowledged as a Vaishṇavite deity. Otherwise, Purushottama, who is taken as a Buddhist by the scholars, must have given Jagannātha as a name of Buddha, like Indrabhūti of the olden days.

The celebrated Jaina writer, Siddhasena Divākara, wrote his *Vardhamāna Dvātrīṃśikā*, a hymn to Vardhamāna Mahāvira in thirty-two Sanskrit stanzas in order to glorify the Jina. In these verses, the names and epithets of the great deities of Hinduism are attributed to Mahāvira, who is compared with Śiva, Brahmā, Hrshikeśa, Viṣṇu, Jishṇu and Jagannātha. This Jaina writer has been tentatively assigned to the 9th century, or some years earlier¹⁶. Thus, Jagannātha was recognised as a great deity of the Hindus by the Jainas of Western India before the 9th century.

Rudrayāmala, a famous Hindu Tantra, finds mention in *Brahmayāmala*, another Hindu Tantra, a manuscript of which preserved in the Darbar library of Nepal was copied in 1052 A.D.¹⁷ Thus, it must have been written some years before 1052 A. D., and as such, it may tentatively be assigned to a period from 950 to 1000 A. D. *Rudrayāmala*, which is earlier than *Brahmayāmala*, must have been compiled some years before 950 A. D. This date for *Rudrayāmala*, finds corroboration from the fact that a portion of it was commented upon by the Kāshmirian Mahāmaheśvarāchārya Abhinaba Gupta, who lived in the latter half of the 10th century¹⁸. The glory of Jagannātha is described at two places in this famous Tantra, e. g.

- (a) महाकन्दवासीमहानन्दवासी पुरग्रामवासी महापीठदेश
जगन्नाथवक्षस्थलस्थे । वरेण्यो बूतानन्दकर्ता शिवानन्दकर्ता ।
(b) ब्रह्मविष्णुश्च रुद्रश्च ईश्वरश्च सदाशिवः
ततः पर शिवः शम्भोः षट् शिवाः षट् प्रकाशिकाः ॥
× × × ×

एतेषां स्तवनं कुर्यात् परदेवसमन्वितं
एतत् प्रकारकरणे यश्च प्रत्यहमाशुगः ॥
क्रियानिबिष्टः सर्वत्र भावनाग्रह रूपधृक्
स पश्यति जगन्नाथं कमलोरुगतं हरिं ॥ ¹⁹

Jagannātha is conceived here as Hari in the embrace of Kamalā, or Lakshmi, which may aptly be compared to 'कमलाकुचकलशकेलिकस्तूरिकापत्राङ्क रस्य भगवतः पुरुषोत्तमस्य' of Anargharāghava Nāṭakam and 'श्रितकमलाकुचमण्डल धृतकुण्डल जय जय देव हरे' of Gītagovinda. Thus, the conception of Jagannātha (Hari) as the consort of Kamalā, can be traced since the beginning of the ninth century.

16. *A History of Indian Literature*, by Winternitz, Vol. II, pp. 551-552

17. *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1906-1911) by M. H. P. Sastri, p. 3

18. *Paratrishika, Laghuvritti and Vivriti*, The Kashmir Series of texts and Studies, Nos 68 and 69.

19. *Mandirer Katha* in Bengali by Gurudas Sarkar, P. 139.

Tantra jamāla, which is an equally old Tantra of the Hindus describes the Dārurūpī Jagannātha as the presiding deity of the Purushottama Kshetra in Utkala, e. g.

भारते चोत्कले देशे भू-स्वर्गे पुरुषोत्तम
दारुरूपी जगन्नाथः भक्तानां मभयप्रदः ॥ ²⁰

The word, *Dārurūpī* is quite significant, as by this, the antiquity of the wooden images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā at Puri, goes to a period prior to circa 950 A. D.

Kalikā Purāṇa, which was a very popular work on Hindu Tantricism, is regarded as a part of the famous work, *Rudrayāmala*²¹. It was accepted as an authority, and is found quoted in important works, like, the *Tirtha Kāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakshmidhara Bhatta (1110 A. D.), in the *Bharatabhāṣya* of king Nanyā Deva of Mithila (1091-1113 A. D.), and by Aparārka (1115-1140 A. D.). According to Sri P. K. Gode, *Kālikāpurāṇa*, which is really an upapūrāṇa, was earlier than 1000 A. D.²² This important work, from which two verses have been quoted before, definitely mentions Jagannātha, as the Supreme deity of Utkala e. g. “जगन्नाथ मोक्षेशं च प्रपूजयेत्”

The quotations made above from various works of different sects, clearly go to prove that the presiding deity at Puri was well-known throughout India by both the names Jagannātha and Purushottama, in a period ranging from 700 to 1000 A. D.

The existence of a temple of Jagannātha or Purushottama prior to the construction of the present temple by the Gaṅga Monarch Cholaṅga Deva some time between 1112 to 1148 A. D., is clearly and definitely proved by the mention of *Devāyatana* of God Purushottama in the well-known *Prabodhachandrodaya Nāṭakam*.

From the prologue of this drama, we come to know that it was written by Sri Kṛṣṇa Misra to commemorate the victory of his patron Kīrti Varman over the Chedi king Karṇa identified with Lakshmi. Karṇa (1041-1070 A. D.) and it was staged in the palace of Kīrti Varman e. g.²³

In the second Act of this drama, there is a clear reference to the *Devāyatana* of Purushottama on the sea-shore of the country of Utkal.

इति प्रविशति पत्रहस्त पुरुषः

पुरुषः—अहमुत्कलदेशादागतोऽस्मि । अस्तितत्र सागमतीर-संनिवेश
पुरुषोत्तमशक्तिं देवायतनं । तस्मिन्नदमानाभ्यां भट्टारकाभ्यां महाराज सकाशं
प्रेषितोऽस्मि । एषा वाराणसी ।

20. *Ibid*, p. 140,

21. *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the collection of A. S. Bengal*, Vol. VIII, part I Tantra Manuscripts p. 70.

22. Date of *Kālikapurāṇa* before 1000 A. D., J. O. R., Madras, Vol. X, pp. 289-294.

23. *Prabodha Chandrodaya Natakam*, published in the Nirnayasaagara Press, Act I, p. 13,

इदं राजकुलम् । यावत्प्रविशामि × × × ॥
 महामोहः—(पत्रं गृहीत्वा) कुतोभवान् ।
 पुरुषः—अहं पुरुषोत्तमादागतोऽस्मि ।
 महामोहः । (पत्रं वाचयति)—स्वस्ति श्रीवाराणस्यां महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर
 महामोहपादान् पुरुषोत्तमायतनादात् मदमानो साष्टाङ्गपातं प्रणम्यविज्ञापयतः । × ×

Thus, it is quite clear that a *Devāyatana* (temple)²⁵ of God Purushottama was existing at Puri not far from the sea-shore long before 1070 A. D. In some copper-plate grants of the Gaṅga king, it is stated that Cholaṅga, the founder of the Gaṅga Empire in Orissa built the present temple of Jagannātha as the old temple existing before his days was in a dilapidated condition being neglected by the former rulers of Orissa²⁶.

पादौ यस्य धरान्तरीक्षमखिलं नाभिस्तु सर्वादिशः
 श्रोत्रे नेत्रयुगं रवीन्दु युगलं मूर्द्धापिचद्यौरस्यौ ।
 प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृपतिः को नाम कर्तुंक्षम
 स्तस्येत्याद्यनूपै रुपेक्षित मयं चक्रेध गङ्गेश्वरः । २७ ।
 लक्ष्मी जन्मगृहं पयोनिधिरसौ सम्भावितस्यस्थिति-
 र्ना धाम्नि श्वशुरस्य पूज्यतइति क्षीराब्धिवासात् ध्रुवं ।
 निविण्णः पुरुषोत्तमः प्रमूढित स्तद्वासलाभा द्रमा-
 प्येतद्भर्तृगृहं वरं पितृगृहात् प्राप्य प्रमोदान्विता । २८ ।

Verse 27—"What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a God as Purushottama, whose feet are the earth, whose navel is the entire sky, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the Sun and the Moon, and whose head that heaven (above). This task which had been hitherto neglected by previous kings, was fulfilled by Gaṅgeswar."

In my opinion, the translation of the second part of the above verse is defective. It clearly states 'तस्यपुरुषोत्तमस्यप्रासादं' the temple of that God Purushottama, (which existed as proved before in the time of Kṛṣṇa Miśra), which had been hitherto neglected by the previous kings, was made (चक्रेय) by Gangeśvara.

Verse 28—"The ocean is the birth-place of Lakshmi, so thinking in his father-in-law's house (the ocean) Vishnu lodged with some shame, though he got

24. *Ibid* Act II, pp. 78 and 79.

25. In the Hatigumpha Inscription, Kharavela is described as सबदेवायतन-संस्कारकारकः ।

26. Nagari plates of Anangabhimā III, edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, *E. I. Vol. XXVIII*, p. 251. These two verses are also found in some later Ganga copper plates, e. g.
 (a) Three Kenduṛatna copper plates of Narasimha II *J. A. S. B. Vol. LXV*, 1896, pp. 229-271 and Visakosha.
 (d) Alarpur copper plate of Narasimha II (under publication in E I)
 (e) Two Puri copper plates of Narasimha IV, *J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIV*, pp. 128-154.

full adoration. Thus ashamed the God Purushottama was glad to get this new house, and Lakshmi, too, gladly preferred living in her husband's new house to living in her father's house".

The second verse quoted above perhaps refers in a veiled manner to this construction of a temple for goddess Lakshmi, by the same ruler Gangeśvar.

Orissa was under the rule of the Somakulī Keśarī kings, for about two hundred years before its conquest and occupation by Cholaṅga Deva some time, after 1112 A.D. So, it may safely be assumed that the old temple of Purushottama noticed by Kṛṣṇa Miśra in circa 1070 A. D. might have been constructed by one of the Somakulī Keśarī kings of Orissa, some of whom were famous temple builders. This old temple was perhaps built at least two hundred years before Cholaṅga as a very long period of neglect, by many former kings might have caused the dilapidation of the old temple as suggested by the expression 'आद्यनृपै रुपेक्षितं' in the grant of the Ganga kings referred to above. So, it may be taken as the work of earlier kings of the Somakula who were very powerful. In this connection the tradition recorded in the '*Mādā Pāñji*', or the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri deserves mention here. e.g.

“श्री पुरुषोत्तमे सङ्खनाभिमण्डले हा३८थकरि पटोल गोटिए तोलि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेसरङ्कु विजे कराइले । ए महाराजाङ्क अ१३३के ककडा १५ दिने सिंघासने विजे कराइले ।”

According to another Pañji :—

“ए उत्तारु देउल गोटिए सुभकले । ३८ हात करि देउल गोटिए करि प्रतिष्ठाकरि परमेसरङ्कु विजे कराइले । ए महाराजाङ्क अ५९३के मेस दि२५ने सिंघासने विजे कराइले । एहिदिने बिमलाङ्क देउल हा१८त मापरे तोलाइले । एहि मापरे परमलक्ष्मीङ्क देउल तोलाइले ।”²⁷

In both the chronicles, Yajāti Keśarī is stated to have built the former temple of Jagannātha, the height of which was 33 cubits or 57 ft. But the second chronicle further states that the same ruler built two other temples for Vimalā and Mahālakshmi, the height of each of which was 18 cubits or 27 ft. The history of Orissa prior to the Gaṅga period as given in the Madalā Pāñji is mostly legendary in character. But fortunately, for us, we get the names of two Yajātis in the genealogy of the Somakulī kings as elicited from the epigraphic records, each of whom was very powerful. A large number of traditions are still current in Orissa about the manifold achievements of Yajāti. So the traditional account about the construction of the former temple of Jagannātha by one Yajāti preferably the first may be accepted as true as a temple of Purushottama actually existed at Puri long before 1070 A. D. as proved before.

Some other references to the Purushottama Kshetra are also found in the epigraphic records and works of the eleventh century, which are noted below.

The partially published Pujaripali Inscription of one Gopāla Deva, perhaps of the Nāga family gives a list of holy places, where his glory spread like that of the autumnal moon. In this list we find the name of Purushottama. e. g.

कोटिमन्त्र प्रभावेण पुनर्देवी बरं ददौ
 अतुलं तव गोपाल ! वलबीर्यं पराक्रमं । ३४ ।
 × × × ×
 श्रीकेदारं प्रयागे च पुष्करे पुरुषोत्तमे
 भीमश्वरे नर्मदायां श्रीगोपालपुरे तथा । ३८ । ²⁸

This inscription has been attributed to the eleventh century A. D. on palaeographic grounds. In the Boramdeo temple, there is another inscription of the reign of Gopāl Deva written in the Kalachuri era 840 or 1083 A. D. This is perhaps the earliest reference to Purushottama Kshetra in the epigraphic records so far discovered.

The next reference to Purushottama Kshetra in the epigraphic records is found in the Nagpur Stone Inscription of the Rulers of Mālava, of the Vikram year 1161 or 1104 A. D.²⁹ e. g.

देवोऽसौ पुरुषोत्तमः स भगवानाशिष्ये यः श्रिया
 येनेदं बलवैरिवन्धविधिना विश्वं समाश्वासितं ।
 येनाधारि बसुन्धरेति दधतः सानन्दमन्दाक्षतां
 तस्य प्राच्यपयोनिधौ बुधजनैः व्याजस्तुतिः प्रस्तुता ॥

“Near the eastern ocean clever men thus art-fully proclaimed his praise, while, he pleased, looked on bashfully. O’ lord, it was the holy Purushottama to whom, fortune resorted, who relieved the universe by subduing the enemy Bali and who supported the earth.” The translation will give better meaning if the words ‘God’ and ‘Lakshmi’ are substituted for the words ‘holy’ and ‘fortune’ used by the learned scholar, as the relation of goddess Lakshmi with god Purushottama has been shown previously by quotations from ‘Anargha Rāghava’ & ‘Rudrayāmala’.

The next verse 45 refers to the waves of the Eastern sea “स्तेप्यम्बुधे उर्मयः” which was near this holy place.

While commenting on this verse late M. M. Chakravarti concluded this “Hence the Purushottama temple would have existed some time before this, or say circa 1090 A. D. “and again” it was built under the orders of Cholaganga between 1085-90 A. D.”. But as it is now definitely known that Cholaganga conquered Orissa in 1112 A. D.³⁰ the temple which existed in 1085-90 A. D. must be the old temple mentioned by Kṛṣṇa Miśra. So the conclusion made by Chakravarti some 56 years ago is not tenable.

28. The Pujaripali Stone Inscription of Gopala Deva, Mahakosala Historical Society's Papers Vol. II, p. 68.

29. Edited by Kejohrn E. I. II, p. 180.

30. Three Temple Inscriptions from Bhubaneswar, O. H. R. J. Vol. I No. 2 pp. 1-9 by Prof. K. C. Panigrahi,

References to God Purushottama and to the Kshetra are also found in the works of Śatānanda, a great Astronomer, who lived at Puri. e. g.

रत्नमालिका (रत्नावली)

ॐ सूर्याय नमः, ॐ श्री विघ्नेश्वराय नमः ।
यस्य प्रभो सर्वविदः प्रसन्न—
ज्ञानाञ्जनं रञ्जित लोचनश्रीः ।
त्रिकालदर्शी च कली नरस्यात्
तस्मै नमः श्री पुरुषोत्तमाय ।³¹

This work Ratnamālā is still unpublished, but is very often quoted in the works of Dharma Śāstra written by the Smṛti-writers of Orissa like Vidyākara Vājapeyī, Narasiṃha Vājapeyī, Visvanātha Miśra as 'रत्नमालायां' or 'शतानन्दरत्नमालायां' In the last verse of 'Vāsvatī', we find that its author Śatānanda, son of Saṃ-kara and Sarasvatī, was a resident of Purushottama and finished this work in Kaliyuga year 4200 or 1100 A. D. e.g.

खखाश्ववेदाद् गते युगाद्दे दिव्योक्तितः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्थ
श्रीमान् शतानन्दो इतीदमाह सरस्वती शङ्करयोस्तनुजः ॥³²

One thing which deserves mention in this connection is that Śatānanda, who lived at Puri, before the advent of the Gangas in 1112 A. D. "is said by the commentator to have based his calculation on the meridian of his native city."³³ This shows that Purushottama Kshetra had attained great importance when this work was written by Śatānanda of the pre-Gaṅga period.

Kṛtya kalpataru of Lakshmidhar Bhaṭṭa, a celebrated work on Dharmaśāstra, which was compiled at Kasi in 1110 A. D. belongs to the Pre-Ganga period. In its Tīrtha Kāṇḍa, the following description from the Vāmaṇa Purana regarding the holy places of Orissa is quoted. viz.

अथ नानातीर्थं महात्म्यं

वामन पुराणे :—

उपोष्य रजनी मेकां विरजां सः नदीं ययौ
स्नात्वा विरजसे तीर्थं दत्त्वा पिण्डं पितुस्तथा ॥
दर्शनाय ययौ श्रीमानजितं पुरुषोत्तमं
तं दृष्ट्वा पुण्डराकाक्ष मक्षरं परमं शुचिः ॥
उपोष्य षड् दिनान्येष महेन्द्रं दक्षिणां ययौ
तत्र देववरं शम्भुमर्द्धनारीश्वरं हरं ॥ (३४)

31. From the Notices of P. L. Manuscripts found in Orissa, compiled by the B. O. R. Society. No. 268 (A).
32. From the two P. L. Manuscripts of Vasvati preserved in the O. S. Museum, Bhubaneswar.
33. Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga. by M. M. Chakravarti, J. A. S. B. 1903, p. 111.

Vāmana Purāṇa from which the above quotation about the Tirthas of Orissa is made in this famous work on Dharmaśāstra, must be anterior to the latter, by some centuries. So it can be concluded that Purushottama Kshetra had been well-known in Northern India at least prior to 900 A. D.

In the beginning of the twelfth century, we find the mention of this sacred place in the Govindapur Stone Inscription of poet Gangādhara of the court of king Rudramāna of the Gayā region, which was written in the Saka year 1059 or 1137 A. D.³⁵ Manoratha, the father of poet Gangādhara came on a pilgrimage to Purushottama in circa 1120 A. D. The relevant verse No. 12 of the text is quoted below.

“गत्वा श्री पुरुषोत्तमं (भग)वयोहृद्यः प्रतिष्ठापदं
पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।
सर्वस्य व विततार तपित पितृस्तोमः करोल्लासितै—
स्तयैर्यः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमापक्षणं ॥

The translation of the above verse as given by the Editor is given below :—“Pleasing with the good fortune and youth and a person of good renown, Manoratha went to the sacred Purushottama and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon and gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment-obtained the fellowship of the moon, eclipsed at full-moon time.”

Being attracted by this far-famed place, Rāmānuja Āchārya came to Orissa to establish a Pīṭha at Puri like the Great Saṃkarāchārya of the days gone by. The account of the visit of Rāmānuja to this place as recorded in Prapaṇāmṛta and other works is not believed by some scholars due to lack of contemporary epigraphic evidence. ‘It is interesting to note in this connection that none of the Hoysala inscriptions mentions the name of Rāmānuja except one inscription of 1259 A. D.³⁶ which was written some 120 years after his death, though he spent a long part of his life in the Hoysala kingdom. Similarly in the case of Orissa there is enough indirect evidence to prove the truth of this traditional account.

“We know that all the earlier Gaṅgas were Saivas, being staunch devotees of God Śiva Gokarṇeśvara worshipped at the top of the Mahendragiri in the Ganjam District. Like his predecessors, Ananta Varma Chodagaṅga is called a Parama-Māheśvara in his earlier records viz. the Korni and Vizagpatam plates of 1031-82 A. D. But the Korni plates of 1112-15 A. D. describe him both as a Parama Māheśvara and as a Parama Vaishṇava while the Vizagpatam plates of 1118-19 A. D. omit the title of Parama Māheśvara altogether and represent Chodagaṅga as a devotee of Viṣṇu alone.”³⁷

This change of religious faith of Chodagaṅga was due to his coming in contact with Rāmānuja who perhaps visited Puri during the course of ‘his

24. *Tirtha Khanda of Kṛtya Kalpataru* G. O. Series XCVIII, p. 235.

35. Edited by Professor Keilhorn, E. I. Vol. II, p. 330.

36. *The Hoysala Vamsa* by William Coelho, p. 288.

37. E. I. Vol. XXVIII, pp. 239-240.

journey from Melukote to Delhi and back between 1107 to 1111 A. D.”³⁸. So it seems quite natural to find Chodagaṅga using the title of ‘Paramavaishṇava’ only in his records from 1112 A. D.

A similar example of the change of religious faith from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism can be cited from the Antigram plates of Jaya Bhanja Deva³⁹ who was a contemporary of Chodagaṅga. The relevant portion of the text of this grant is quoted below.

रूपैर्यो मदनोपमः क्षितितले दानैश्च कर्णोपमः ।
मानैश्चापि सुयोधनोपमगतः शक्रोपमः विक्रमैः ।
दुर्वारारिकुरङ्गमारुहः शीशङ्करे भक्तिमान्
भक्तो वै पितृगात् यादयुगले श्रीभैष्णवः साम्प्रतः ॥

सचामहामण्डलेश्वर सर्वगुणालङ्कृत श्रीमद्राजाजयभञ्जदेवकुशली

This clearly proves that Rajā Jaya Bhanja Deva who had formerly been a devotee of Śrī Saṅkara became at the time of this grant a ‘Śrī Vaiṣṇava’ or a follower of Rāmānuja. His elder brother Yaśa Bhanja Deva claims victory over one Jagadeka malla e. g. ‘जगदेकमल्ल विजयी × × भाति श्रीयशभञ्ज देव नृपति’⁴⁰. This event furnishes some clue to fix approximately the date of the granter. Jagadeka malla mentioned in this grant may satisfactorily be identified with the powerful Sinda chief Permadi I Jagadeka malla whose known dates are 1104 and 1141 A. D.⁴¹.

Thus both Yaśabhanja Deva, a contemporary of this well-known Sinda king Jagadekamalla and his younger brother Yayabhanja Deva, who was not much removed from his elder brother in time may be tentatively assigned to the first four decades of the twelfth century, the period of activity of Śrī Rāmānuja, who died in 1137 A. D. So it was quite natural for Jayabhanja Deva to call him a ‘Śrī Vaiṣṇava’ by coming in contact with Śrī Rāmānuja.

The visit of Rāmānuja to Puri is also indirectly proved by the existence of two Maṭhs there, one namely ‘Rāmānuja Maṭha’ which is said to have been founded by himself and the other being ‘Embār Maṭha,’ the foundation of which is attributed to Govinda, the cousin and favourite disciple of Śrī Rāmānuja. It may be noted here that the word ‘Embār’ is a shortened form of the original Tamil word ‘Em-peru Mān-ār’. The existence of the Alwāranātha Temple 16 miles to the south of Puri and a village named Alwārapur, near the Jaganātha Road 3 miles to the east of Bhubaneswara are also reminiscent of the visit of Rāmānuja, the last of the Alwārs to Puri.

The earliest reference to Orissa and its presiding deity Jagannātha in the Hindi literature is found in poet Narapati Nalha’s ‘Bisaldev Rāso’, the first in the series of Rāso Mahākāvya in old Hindi. The king whose deeds of

38. J. R. A. S. 1915, p. 148.

39. E. I. Vol. XIX, p. 43.44.

40. E. I. Vol. XVIII, p. 298.

41. *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* by R. Sewell and S. K. Aiyangar, p. 393.

war and love are sung in this poem was probably Vighrahāja IV, reputed to be the uncle of the last Prithvirāja of Delhi (1175-1192 A. D.) Its gives an account of the Rajā of Orissa and God Jagannātha of the Jagannātha Puri, in two chapters who was held in high esteem by the people of Rajasthana and U. P. even in the twelfth century (42).*

The next respectful reference to Orissa and its presiding deity Jagannātha, worshipped in a town (Kataka) on the sea-shore is found in the 'Prithvirāja Rāso' by Chand Bardai. In the opinion of John Beams this earliest extent Hindi poem was written about 1200 A. D. (43)*. Poet Chand while describing the expedition of Vijaypāla, king of Kanauj to Orissa states that one Mukunda Deva of the Soma dynasty, who was ruling over Orissa at that time was a devout worshipper of God Jagannātha (44). e. g.

कनव ज्जह कामधज्ज । राजाविजपालनृपवर ।
 × × × ×
 सोमवश राजाधिराज । मुकुन्ददेव प्रभु
 सरित समुद्रतटह । कटकमय मग्गिनृयन नभू ।
 × × × ×
 दिवदिवसरीतिमन्त्रजपत । जगन्नाथ पूजत दिनह ।
 दिग्विजयकरन् विजयपाल नृप । सप्तकोसि भिद्योतिनह ।

Vijayapāla of the Rāso has been identified with Vijayachandra (1154-1170 A. D.) of the Epigraphic records, but the Somavamsī Mukunda who gave his daughter to Vijayapāla seems to be a legendary character. In spite of this, the reference to Lord Jagannātha, worshipped in a town (Kataka) near the sea-shore is note-worthy. It clearly proves that Jagannātha of Puri had been well-known in Northern India before 1200 A. D. and was highly venerated by the common people, which inspired their great poets to sing the praise of the Lord in glowing terms.

Let us now turn our attention to the Epigraphic records of Bengal of the pre-Muslim period.

The earliest reference to Purushottama-Kshetia is found in a verse describing the exploits of king Lakshmana Sena in the Eclipur copper-plate grant of Keśava Sena and Madanapada C. P. grant of Viśvarupa Sena 45. e.g.

वेलायां दक्षिणावधे मूर्ध्निधरगदापाणिसवासवेद्यां । क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य
 स्फुरदसिवरपाशैषगङ्गोभिभाजि । तीरोत्सङ्गे त्रिवेण्याः कमलभव-
 मखारम्भनिर्व्याजपूते । येनोच्चै यज्ञयूपैः सह समरजयस तम्भमालान्यधायि ।

*12. O. H. R. J. Vol. I, No. I, pp. 41-44.

43. J. A. Vol. I, p. 3.

44. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. IX, 1935, pp. 11-12.

45. Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 122 and p. 135.

The supremacy of Lakshmaṇa Sena is mentioned in this verse to have been established in the sacred place (Puri) where dwell the two Gods holding respectively a club and a mace in their hands, the realm of Viśveśvar, watered by the united flows of Asi and Varāṇā, and on the banks of the Trivenī, sanctified by the Vedic sacrifices. Whatever may be historical value of this verse, herein is found the earliest reference to Purushottama Kshetra in the epigraphic records of Bengal.

In Gujarat Jagannātha as a form of Vishnu was well-known at least before 1100 A. D. So in the lexicon called '*Abhidhāna Chintāmani*' of the famous Jaina scholar and poet Hemachandra, (1058-1172 A.D.) the word Jagannātha is given in the paryāya of God Vishnu, e. g. मोमसिन्धु जगन्नाथो गोवर्द्धनधरोऽपिच⁽⁴⁶⁾ along with Purushottama.

It has been shown before that Jagannātha-Puri was well known in the southern India before the days of Śrī Saṅkara and both Śrī Saṅkara and Śrī Rāmānuja established their maṭhas there. Following the example of Śrī Rāmānuja, the three other great Vaishṇava preachers of Southern India visited Puri for establishing maṭhas there. Of these three, Śrī Viṣṇu Svāmī is tentatively assigned to the second half of the twelfth century. It is known from his biography that Viṣṇu Svāmī after visiting Dvārakā, Brndābana and Puri settled at Kāñchī in his old age⁴⁷. This account of his visit is corroborated by the mention of the Viṣṇusvāmī Liṅga, during the reign of Madana Mahādeva in the Mādala Pāñji⁴⁸. This Viṣṇusvāmī Liṅga established by this saint or in honour of his visit has been located by prof. B. C. Ray in an old dilapidated Śiva temple standing on the top of Viśvanātha hill near Delanga Rly. Station not far from Khurda Road Junction⁴⁹. There is a Maṭha called Viṣṇu svāmī Maṭha near the Mārkaṇḍeya tank at Puri and there are also two other small maṭhas of this sect in this sacred place. Thus the account of the visit of Viṣṇu Svāmī to Puri is based on historical truth.

Nimbārka, another great Vaishṇava preacher of the South, who lived a few years after Rāmānuja is said to have visited Puri to establish a seat of his religious faith here. Of the five Maṭhas at Puri of the sect of Nimbārka, the Radhāballava Maṭha just to the east of the lion's gate of the Jagannātha temple is note-worthy. Jayadeva, who is taken as a followers of Nimbārka wrote his famous Gīta Govinda, or hymn to God Govinda in the famous Jagannātha temple, where it was recited daily by the poet and his wife Padmāvatī. e.g.⁵⁰

तदारभ्यातिभक्त्या वै पत्न्या सह हरिं भजन् । ५३ ।

गायन् वै गीतगोविन्दं तोषयामास केशव ।

निर्माय गीतगोविन्दं पुस्तकं पूरुषोत्तमे । ५४ ।

निवेद्य कृतकृत्योऽभूज्जयदेवो महामन । ५५ ।

This account given in the Sanskrit Bhaktamālā regarding the composition and recitation of the Gīta Govinda by Jayadeva in the Jagannātha temple

46. *Abhidhāna Chintāmani*, (Debadhideva Konda) Line. 218.

47. *A History of Indian Philosophy*, by S. Das Gupta, Vol. IV, p. 382.

48. *Mādala Pāñji* (Oriya) Prachi Edition, p. 25

49. *Viṣṇusvāmī, The Jhankar* (Oriya Monthly) Vol. IV, no, 10, p. 870

50. *Bhaktamālā* by Chandra Dutta, Chapter 39

of Puri is supported by some other traditions, which are current in different parts of India.

Mādhva Āchārya or Ānanda Tirtha, the latest of the four famous Vaishṇava preachers of southern India is also said to have visited Puri. We possess a lot of epigraphic evidence about his famous disciple Narahari Tirtha, who was a contemporary of the Eastern Gaṅga kings Narasiṃha Deva I (1238-1264) Bhānu Deva I (1264-1278) Narasiṃha Deva II (1278-1355)⁵¹.

Thus Puri had become a strong hold of Hinduism in India before the establishment of the Muslim power in Northern India. From the discussion made above, the following conclusions may be arrived at :

- (a) The Uḍḍiyāna Pīṭha of the Vajrayāna, which was the centre of activity of the famous Indrabhūti existed some where in Orissa near Puri and became known as Oḍrapīṭha in the age of revival of Brāhmanism.
- (b) God Jagannātha, the manifestation of Buddha, who was propitiated by Indrabhūti can be identified with the Jagannātha of Puri who was all through these centuries regarded as an incarnation of Buddha and as such Jagannātha-Puri was famous as a sacred place of the Buddhists before the days of Indrabhūti (first quarter of the eighth century).
- (c) The identity of the Buddhist Jagannātha with the Purushottama Viṣṇu of Brāhmanism was established by the great Śaṅkara Āchārya in the first quarter of the ninth century, whereby this place became a famous centre of Hinduism since his days.
- (d) There had existed a temple of Purushottama where the drama of Mūrāri was presented, (circa 850 A. D.) which finds mention in the Prabodha Chandrodaya Nāṭakam of Kṛṣṇa Miśra. Cholaḡaṅga Deva built the present temple after demolishing the old temple built probably by Yayāui I which was in a dilapidated condition, having been neglected by the former rulers of Utkala.
- (e) Purushottama Kshetra had become a famous centre of Hinduism long before the beginning of the Muslim rule in Northern India.

51. J. A. H, R, S, Vol, VII

ORISSAN ART IN THE EVOLUTION OF POSTMEDIAEVAL INDIAN CULTURE

(with plates)

(Notes from excursions through some parts of Orissa and adjacent areas.)
Klaus Fischer Heidelberg

Introduction

"Orissan art" forms one of those aspects of ancient Indian culture which bear testimony of religious, political and social evolution of one special region in one special period. Like other parts of India, the country of Orissa abounds with "monument" from the centuries B. C., mainly belonging to Jains and Buddhists, up to the high water marks of Hinduism in the middle ages. Later on the creative spirit seems not to be so original as in earlier periods; this fact which we realize throughout India has been explained by Ramaprasad Chanda in his "*Exploration in Orissa*", 1930, pp. 22-23: "In Orissa, as in other parts of Northern India, in the later mediaeval periods sculpture gradually degenerated while architecture made steady progress. This degeneration should be attributed to the weakening of religious spirit, and the corresponding development of architecture to a love of pomp and display that inspired the erection of more and more imposing and richly decorated structures".

As in other parts of India, 'classical' patterns of both architecture and sculpture have been early established. They gave the model for following periods; but, as also in so many places of whole India, within the limits of a fixed taste and iconography some individual evolutions took place. The "types" of architecture and decoration are well-known from many examples; even today new discoveries may contribute to our knowledge of the richness of old times. In many sites at Jajpur I found traces of Gupta decoration the tradition of which has been stated by Ramaprasad in his mentioned paper pages 1 and 2, and at Golobai and other sites at the Northern border of the Chilka Lake I discovered temples and ruins of the middle ages, of that advanced style which T. N. Ramachandran has recently described in a file of the Archaeological Survey, South-Eastern Circle, when drawing attention to the beautiful remains at Chandésvara. Those new finds complete our idea of ancient art; at the same time they show sources by which later artists were inspired. Hindu religion is flourishing since these times without interruption although Muslim and European newcomers brought elements of different societies; Orissan architects and artisans both followed traditional lines and adopted new forms.



Kantilo, tower with erotic sculpture in Nilamādhava

These buildings display sometimes much of fresh spirit and individual artistic ideas ; before all they are not only "monuments" but a part of daily life to which even the contemporaries contribute. On the one hand typical Orissan features are preserved from ancient art ; on the other hands new inventions from other Indian regions and even from abroad were adopted. This is the time of cultural exchange : also in all other Indian regions certain art forms were overtaken by adjacent or even far distant provinces, and original types of architecture became decorative features. Some of those "Eastern types" even influenced Western architecture. In this everlasting process of giving and taking the Orissan art plays a dominant roll. Some examples of postmediaeval art shall be compared with similar trends of cultural evolution in other parts of India.

As regards their form we have, on the whole, to agree with Ramaprasad Chanda: architecture is conspicuous with its love of pomp and grandeur and will not fail to impress the onlooker while decoration more and more seems to be limited within fixed patterns.

In any case, the contents of this later art are interesting for the student of comparative history of culture. As in other parts of India there is sometimes an "antiquarian" trend, when recently established temples are decorated with sculptures of earlier age, as for example with the Tirthankara image at the front of one temple at Kanpur ; new material on ancient Buddhist sculpture, which was finally preserved in museal collection, will be found in the new thesis of Prof. N. K. Sahu Baripada. Whilst those examples display interest in old times, other contents of later iconography refer to contemporary culture even of foreign countries. In such way the latter Orissan art combines various social trends which occur quite similarly in other parts of India, and which, therefore, shall be described in comparison with contemporary Indian art works. The observations of the present paper are based upon a recent visit of following places of Orissa :

Banpur, Village temple
 Baripada, Ambica mandir
 „ Chaitanya temple
 „ Gundicha mandir
 „ Jagannath
 Bhusandpur, Village temple
 Bolgarh, Village temple
 Indipatta, Village temple
 Jajpur, Agastiswar
 Akhandaleswar
 Barahanath
 Biraja
 Jagannath
 Lakshmi temple
 Sameswar
 Trilochan
 Kantilo, Nilamadhab
 Karada, Village temple
 Karanja, Private temple of lawyer .
 Khandaparagarh, Palace
 „ Temple in palace

Mangia Duri, Village temples
 Nayagarh, Gopinathji
 „ Jagannath
 „ Radhamohanji
 Oragaon, Ragunathji
 „ Siddhesvara
 Parlakimedi, Hanuman mandir
 „ Jagannath
 „ Kameswar mandir
 „ Madha mandir
 „ Ramaling mandir
 Ranpur, Chandeswar mandir
 „ Gundicha mandapa
 „ Jagannath
 „ Mani Nag Kali on the hill
 „ „ „ „ below „
 „ Palace compound
 „ Sapaneswar
 Rarnan, Private temple compound
 Sarangul, Village temple
 Sitabhinji, Village houses

Kheonjhargarh, Great Jagannath

„ Jagannath outside city

„ Kali temple

„ Old Fort, Rani temple

„ Rangapath

„ Vanabihari

„ Rock temple

Sundarpur Colony, Houses

Tapang, Hill Temple

A. Architecture

I. Jagannath Compounds. In the classical periods of Indian architecture fixed types were created the essential forms of which were further on repeated. This could be done in a more or less mechanical manner, or with original artistic feeling; in the one case the trend to some kind of “mannerism” is obvious while in the other we realize individual inventions, features of a later art which consisted in both keeping close the tradition and developing own ideas. There are many Jagannath temples following the model given by the architecture of Bhubaneswar and Puri, and slightly changing according to the taste of the subsequent centuries and their artistic ideas. There is a fine example at Bripada, influencing the whole of the later architecture in Mayurbhanj State. Also at Jajpur, the Jagannath is a connecting link: from the classical types of the country to the many examples of later temples in the city of Jajpur as well as on the opposite bank of the river of Vaitarani, which, as it was the case at Vijayanagar and so many other places in both East and West, was a geographic separation but a cultural connection. Also the Jagannath temples of Keonjhargarh, Nayagarh, Parlakimedi and Ranpur influenced their environs fixing a new type of architecture which was later on followed in other temples and temple groups as for example at Khandagragarh or Kantilo.

Trend : Variations of old type; and creation of new patterns for new variations. Superb feeling for the beauty of natural surroundings and taste in the choice especially of hilly scenery.

Examples of the same trend in other works of later Indian architecture. Jain temples of mount Parasnath² in Bihar, Sikh temples of Nanda Devi in Punjab; Hindu temple of Tiruvannamalai in South India.

II. Influence on other Indian regions. The typical Orissan tower become soon a fixed form which was also adopted by or builders of other provinces, especially in the adjacent areas. Thus we find the shape of the classical or postclassical Orissan tower in Bengal temple compounds the other forms of which are of pure Bengal style. In Midnapore district, next to the North-Eastern border of Orissa, there are Orissan towers at Chandrakona and Garhbeta.

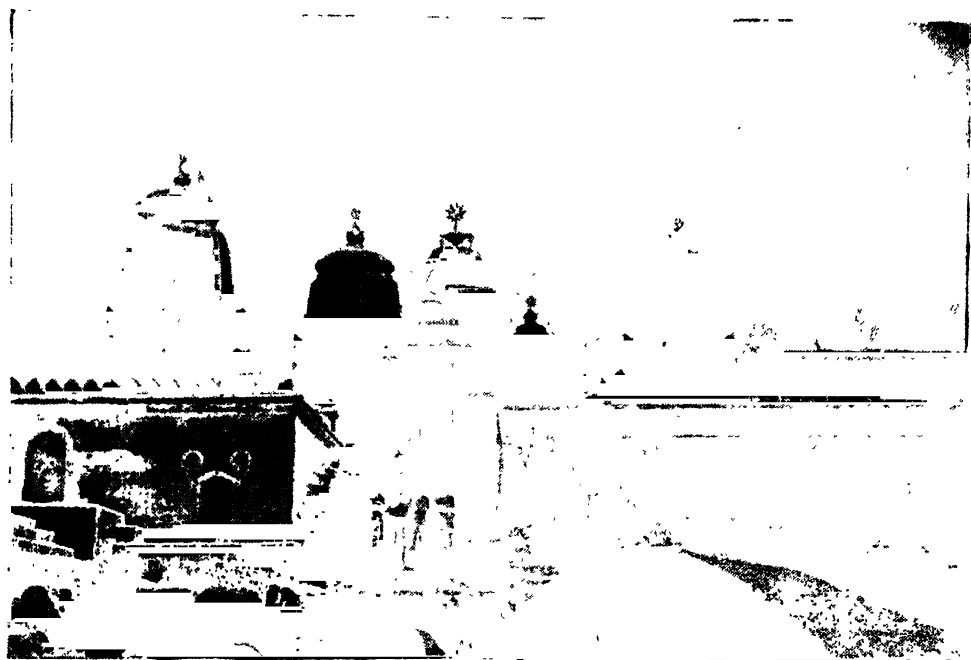
Trend : Creations of ancient or recent Orissan architecture becomes a purely decorative features in the architecture of neighbouring provinces.

Examples of the same trend in other periods : Classical Orissan architecture contributed to constructions in the North of Orissa, as for example in the deuls at the Bengal-Bihar border-line, and South of Orissa at Simhachalam and Saripalli near Vishakapatnam.

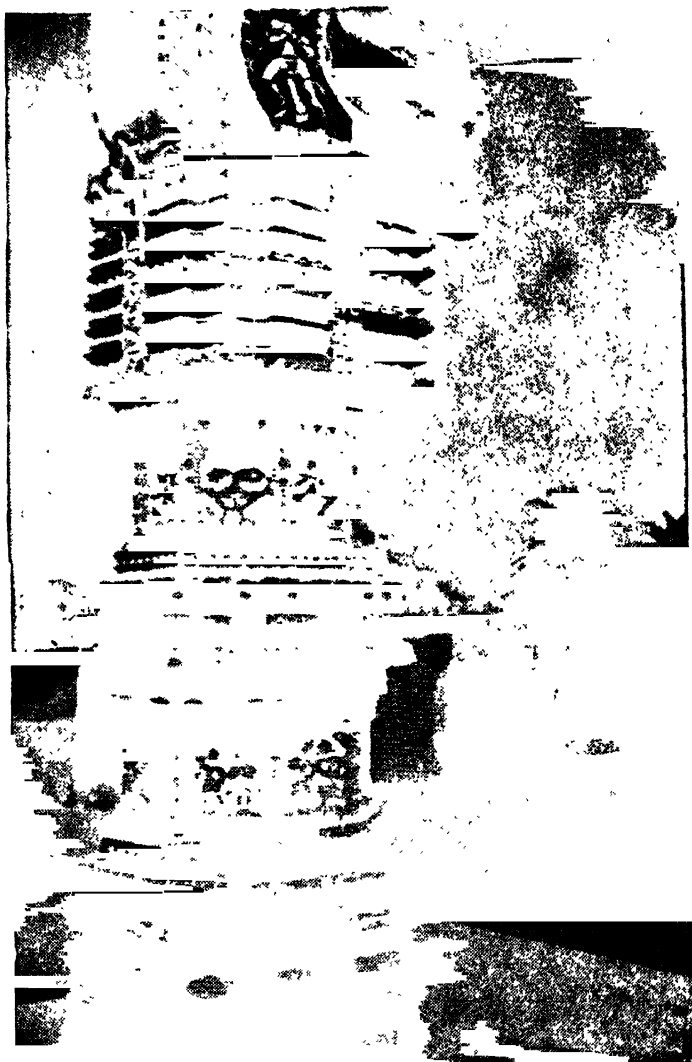
III. Influence from other Indian regions. At the same time when typical forms of Orissan art contributed to the postclassical Andhra, Bengal etc. culture



Baripada, Jagannath temple



Kantilo, compound of Nilamādhava



Bolgarh, Pillar of swing in front of temple compound

the builders of later Orissan temples adopted artistic ideas of those and other Indian provinces. The later the respective buildings are the more effective is this kind of cultural exchange.

(1) *Technique* : True vaulting. Examples of true vaulting in radiating arches are rare in Hindu architecture. Either they are inspired by Muslim constructions, or they are stray monuments of individual invention. As far Orissan architecture of the latter centuries is concerned, direct Muslim influence is obvious in the brick arches and vaultings of Haripur which are of the same origin as the brick barrel vaultings in Bengal temples from the 10th century onwards. Smaller examples of the true arch and the barrel vault the sources of which may be of various kinds are to be found at Karanja and Tapang.

Trend : Adoption of new means of construction after foreign models.

Examples of the same trend in other Indian buildings : Bengal brick temples; stone temples of Brindaban and Gobardhan; corridor in Chandaprabha Jain temple at Tiruparuttikunram near Conjeevaram ; Tiruvadovayil in Tanjore District : frequently in the Vijayanagar and Nayak architecture of South India, recently the first floor of the new gopuram at Tiruvadanai, Madura District.

(2) *Decoration*. The "Bengal Roof". World architecture displays one common tendency : later periods make use of inventions from earlier buildings, and features of originally architectural and constructive meaning become decorative features. In the West we find this trend in the evolution from the early to the late Gothique, and from the barrel vaultings of the early Baroque to those of the final stage of this art. The arch in Muslim construction, or the "Bengal Roof" in domestic architecture in the lower Gangetic plain were basically necessary means of technique ; later on they became independent and were applied throughout the whole subcontinent as mere decoration. In Orissa we find this ornamental shape of the bent eaves of the Bengal roof in temples of Baripada, Jajpur, Kheonjargarh or Puri (cf. N. K. Bose : "Canons of Orissan architecture", on the "Gauriya order").

Trend. To make use of structural forms as forms of pure beauty.

Examples. Of the same way in the adoption of the BENGAL roof in other buildings of India³). Andhra—Arasa Villi, Vizianagram; Assam—Gauhati, Sibsagar; BIHAR—Bodhi Gaya, Gaya, Mount Parasnath, Patna; DELHI—Kieher Sarai, Qutb Compound, Red Fort; HYDERABAD STATE—Aurangabad, Bir, Ellora, Gulbarga, Hyderabad, Knuldabad, MADHYA BHARAT—Gwalior, Indor, MYSORE STATE—Serlingapatam; PUNJAB—Anandpur Sahib, Mani Majira, Nanda Devi, Pinjore Gardens; RAJASTHAN—Ajmer, Jaipur, Marwar Palli; UTTAR PRADESH—Agra, Benares, Lucknow; VINDHYA PRADESH—Chhatarpur, Khajuraho, Orchoha.

B. Sculpture and Painting

I. Development of new artistic forms. Corresponding to the architecture of the Jagannath temple also postmediaeval sculpture displays two features which are not opposite to each other but bear witness of mutual inspiration : artists both follow a fixed programme of iconography and find new means of expression. Among the many examples of the latter kind one special may

be selected : miniature sculpture at the pillars of later Gundija mandapas and dolmandapas, some times with sculptural representations of Lord Jagannath. Traditional subjects are minutely carved in a fine style which was earlier applied on pillars in medieval temples of Central and South India, and which in the Orissan works seems to have been independently created. At Bolgarh beautiful carvings are very well preserved, whilst at Ranpur stray fragments are collected in the premises of the palace.

Trend. Transfusion of traditional iconography into new artistic forms of small size.

Examples. Of the same trend in later Indian decoration : Bengal brick sculpture ; wodden carvings in Jain temples and palaces of South West India.

II. Evolution of erotic subjects. The mediaeval temples of Orissa are famous for the artistic unity with which religious zeal in wonderful co-operation with highly advanced aesthetic mind represented erotic scenes. Even today Orissan folk art follows certain patterns of erotic sculpture and painting which seem to be far distant from the olden times, which, however, are linked with the mediaeval art by many examples of erotic sculpture and painting executed at Jagannath and other temples from the 15th century to the present day. There are compositions directly derived from Konarak and Puri, and there are also new inventions in the matter. Sometimes we witness the natural model to be followed without artistic and sublime feeling—in other cases we feel an original and creative mind of interpretation and abstraction which is also observed even by contemporary Indian artists.⁴ From the formal point of view the temples of Jajpur, Kantilo, Mangia Dari, Nayagarh, Parlakimedi and Ranpur display the best specimens of erotic sculpture.

Trend. A special branch of art which originally had a religious and social meaning, becomes an independent matter of artistic exhibition. It is interesting to notice that the formal quality of this art was much higher in the ancient days when the art was "engaged" by the society, whilst erotic sculpture and painting as "art for art's sake" very often lacks in aesthetic inspiration.

Examples. Of later erotic art in other parts of India are mainly in those regions where this aspect of sculpture was favoured by the early and mediaeval art—the whole of South India and large parts of the Deccan may be quoted. In the South, nearly everywhere in the late Vijayanagar temples and in the brick-and-plaster *gopurams* of subsequent periods ; in the Deccan especially in temples of Asefabad, Kallur in Raichur District, Kallur in Yelburga District, Kulpak, Raichur, Vejur. On the one hand, the problem is a common one in the art of both East and West: that "consciously produced" art does not attain the same high level which the "unconscious and necessary" art showed. On the other hand, the recently collected material may point out that early erotic art in India was not a sign of decadence, as sometimes was interpreted for, even today there are artisans executing erotic subjects in a crude, but original manner; they seem simply anxious to produce this type of sculpture as good as they can in order to satisfy the society of the village by which they are engaged.



Kantilo, temple with erotic sculpture, built in 1953.

III. Influence of this art. Wherever existed political influence of Orissan rulers on adjacent areas we realize obvious traces of Orissan art. Iconography and artistic forms of the erotic sculpture from Parlakimedi influenced the decoration of the famous temple of Sreekrumam in Andhradesh. Formerly this place belonged to the Rajas of Parlakimedi; under their auspices erotic sculptures were executed at the walls of the temple, and paintings of the same kind were to decorate the walls of the compound. Later on one Rani caused the erotic sculptures to be covered by whitewash, whilst the paintings, although fading, are still visible. Orissan forms of erotic sculpture are also to be found on Jagannath temples to the South of Orissa, for example at Vishakapatnam, and Vizianagram.

Trend. Religious and political influences also spread art forms.

Examples. Of the same trend in earlier centuries: Typical Orissan sculpture in the *arthamundapam* of Simhachalam; forms of classical Orissan architecture and decoration at Saripalli, both places in Vishakapatnam District.

C. Some Aspects from the History of Civilization

I. Vernacular idioms in manuscript illustrations.

(1) *Subject.* The Archaeological Museum and Library of Baripada possesses a Ramayana manuscript "*Baidhisavilasa*" by Upendra Bhanja, written in the 17th century, and illustrated in the 19th century. In this palm leaf work the story of Rishyashringa is illustrated in a quite exceptional way: before the background of Muslim architecture a lady is seated, from whom long-bearded saint with a small horn on the forehead has received a little child whom he carries in his left arm. This additional version of the well known story occurs only in Orissan literature and later vernacular adoptions of that mythology, and thus the iconography of this manuscript illustration is unique in this way of rendering the story.

Trend. Stories from classical Indian mythology are later on interpreted in various vernacular versions in both literature and art.

Example. Of postmediaeval representations of the Rishyashringa—story according to later popular versions: MALABAR COAST deva rising in the sacrificial fire with vessel containing milk of fertility (wood carvings from Quilon, Travancore, now in Egmore Museum Madras); MARHATTI—Rishyashringa carried away by the girls forming a palanquin, deva rising from fire (Marhatti painting of Ramayana on one leaf, now in Sarfoji Saraswathi Mahal Library Tanjore); DECCAN—Rishyashringa in girls-palanquin (Hindu sculptures inserted into Muslim Naurangi Darwaza of the City wall at Raichur); BENGAL—Rishyashringa seduced by the girls in a pleasure boat (Vishnu temple at Bansberia, Hooghly district); MYSORE STATE—Rishyashringa worshipped even today as rain-making deity (Rishyashringa-temple near Sringeri); VIJAYA-NAGAR—Rishyashringa performing the sacrifice before King Dasaratha and the Queens (Hazara Ramachandra-swami temple).

2. *Form.* In the same manuscript at Baripada we find a representation of the battle at Lanka. We are surprised to notice soldiers in European uniforms with guns on their shoulders.

Trend. This very kind of interpretation is common in every kinds of creative art: to "translate" great events from the far remote past into the language of the present day. It is the striking and usual feature of nearly all mediaeval and baroque art in Europe: to illustrate legends of the Christian saints or of historical battles with figures wearing garments and arms of that very day in which the respective painting or sculpture was executed.

Examples. Of that kind occur also in latter Indian art: MADHYA PRADISH—European soldiers carved at a well in Chanda; BENGAL—Portuguese soldiers on terracottas of 17th century, brick temples and English soldiers in cut plaster on 19th century temples; BIHAR—soldiers in Western uniforms in sgraffito in the midst of Hindu iconography on a village temple near Gaya; ORISSA—on the front wall of an additional shrine in the Nilamadhab compound at Kantilo, sexual intercourse of a lady in Indian saree with a soldier in European uniform; SOUTH INDIA—pepoys with rifles at the porch of the temple in Perur, in the Hall of Pillars of the Varadaraja temple at Conjeevaram and in the wood carvings from Quilon in Egmore Museum.

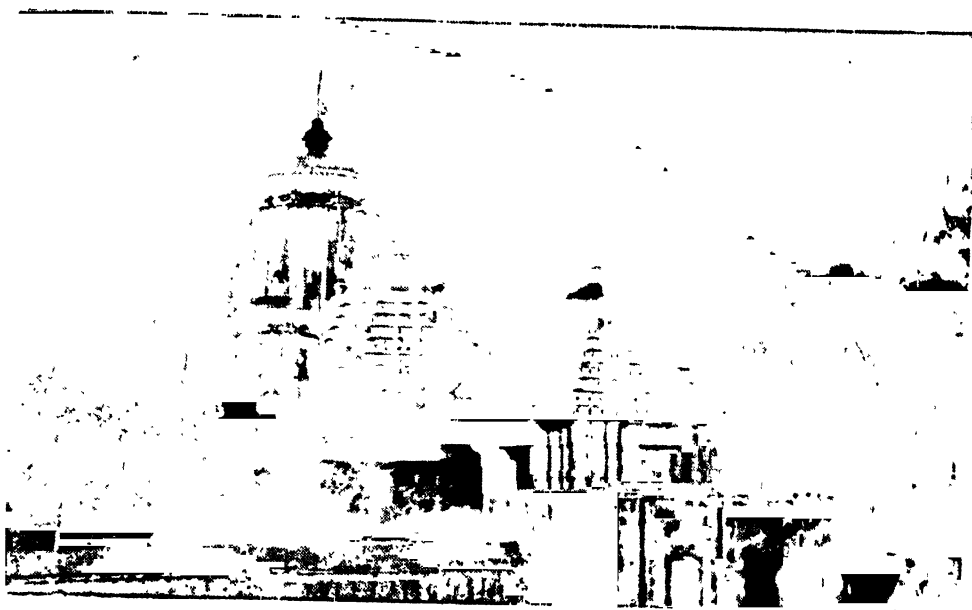
II Contemporary popular constructions.

1. *Adoption of bamboo form in mud.* In a hamlet near the famous rock paintings of Sitabhinji and in the village of Sitabhinji proper the aboriginal tribes of the Kolhas are constructing low mud houses with entrances in the form of an horse-shoe-arch, which is obviously derived from earlier bamboo structures.

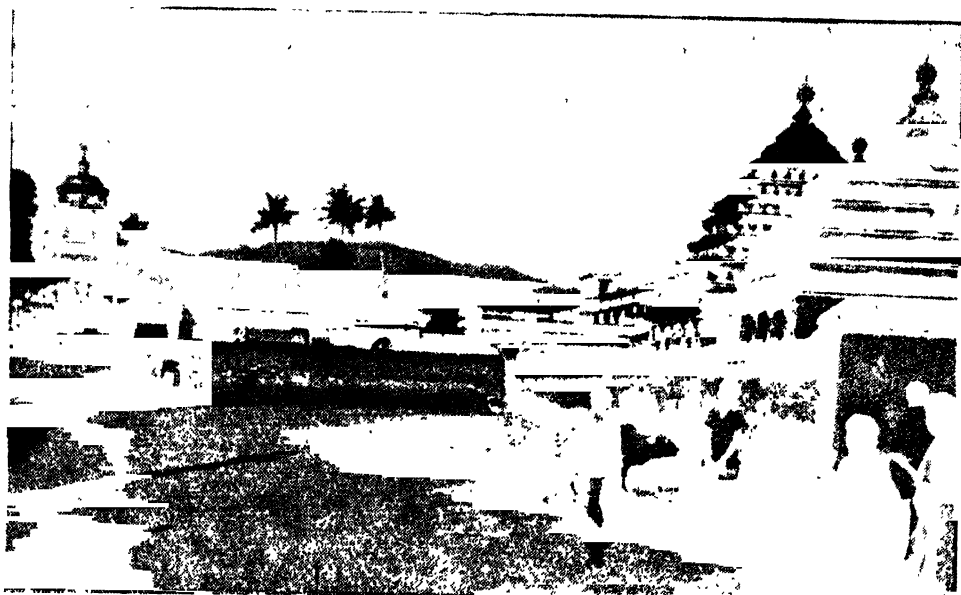
Trend. In both East and West it is common use to imitate early kinds of structure later on in other materials, mostly of better durability.

Examples in India: Decorative stone ribs of early Buddhistic caves copy wooden rafters of previous constructions. In the Deccan, where a special tradition of cave architecture existed, those forms were, even much later, once more "translated" into another material: some mosques, tombs and gates of the Bahmani period shows those rafters as a decorative feature in cut plaster on brick or stone. The Bengal brick architecture, as derived from bamboo framework and straw thatched huts, has already been mentioned. Also the many types of stone *rathas* may be quoted which were copied after models in perishable material.

(2) *Dwelling houses as models for temples.* In these and other Orissan villages we find one special house type: the house proper consists of rectangular mud or stone or wood walls without ceiling, and round this wall there are wooden pillars supporting a thatched roof like a tent.—In a gap of the huge rocks near Sitabhinji some clay images of horses and other subjects are worshipped; an open space of the rock gives shelter for a rectangular construction without ceiling, the latter being represented by the rock itself.—In Banpur, four miles from Nayagarh, many new Hindu images were discovered by the villagers in the fields. A new temple was recently erected—in the shape like the houses of this part of Orissa: in rectangular plan, surrounded by wooden posts supporting a tent roof.



Ranpur Jagannath temple



Khandaparagarh Temples within the premises of the Palace

Trend : Derivation of the forms of temples and palaces from domestic architecture.

Examples : ¶ In the ancient West are Greek megaron and the templum in antis, and throughout India we find the system during all periods. Once more we have to refer to the Bengal village hut as model for the Bengal temple with bent eaves; at the South-West coast of India the form of the dwelling-house with gable-end roofs was not only followed by the Padmanabhapuram Palace, the Travancore Hindu temples and the well known Jain temple of the Mudabidri-Karkal-type, but also by one mosque to the South of Trivandrum, by Albuquerque's church at Cochin and by the synagogues at Mattancheri; in and around Trichinopoly we find tent-like village huts, which form also a kind of second storey in city palaces and temples; in the mountains at the Northern border of Mysore state there exists a house type with three gabled roofs besides each other, not unlike similar forms in Switzerland and Bavaria, which is also the model for recent local temples.

(3) *Houses of East Bengal Refugees.* Near Chilka Lake there are some settlements of East Bengal people who were driven out from their native places in 1950. The "Sundarpur Colony" was quickly constructed by government contractors in the shapes of usual Ori-san houses with tent-like roof. A bit aside from this colony, however, some villagers have constructed houses by themselves, and they have applied the typical form of the 'Bengal roof' with bent eaves, mostly in the *Dochala* Type which is prevailing in East Bengal.

Trend : Transfer of native forms into foreign environs.

Examples of this aspect of cultural history in all countries in all times. Technique and form of Middle Eastern architecture in early Muslim buildings in India; elements of Indian art in the Hindu colonies of Indonesia.

Conclusion

In India as in other parts of the world the creations of art forms were made in early periods of history, in regions which were at that time far distant and more or less independent from each other. Later on fixed patterns were followed, new features were produced by exchange and alteration of ancient forms rather than by creation of quite new ones. Even then, some artists and art communities succeeded in erecting and decorating buildings of an original spirit. Since the pure quality of this later art attains only exceptionally the high standard of the earlier creations, it is not so often the history of art and archaeology than the comparative history of civilization which is concerned with these buildings.

Klaus Fischer Heidelberg.

References in recent contributions by the author :

- (1) Features of later Indian architecture : "Aspects of post-mediaeval Indian art", in the press by JOURNAL OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA, MADRAS. after a lecture held in this Society.
- (2) Exchange of architectural types among Indian builders and patrons : "Art and life. Architectural monuments of Mount Parasnath", THE VOICE OF AHIMSA, ALIGANJ, vol. IV. 1954, 1.

- (3) Spread of the Bengal roof through the whole of India : "The art of Bengal temples with bent caves", SUMMARIES OF PAPERS SUBMITTED TO THE 17TH SESSION OF THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, AHMEDABAD 1953,
- (4) International relations between traditional and progressive art : "Abstraction in contemporary Indian art". THE CALCUTTA REVIEW, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA, June and July 1953.
- (5) Regional and vernacular versions of the story Rishyashringa in literature and art : "Iconography of Bengal terracottas" in the press as one chapter of an article by ROOPA -LEKHA, DELHI.
- (6) Imitations of Buddhistic structures by Bahmani architecture : "Newly discovered and photographed ruins in and around Firozabad on the Bhima", in the press by ISLAMIC CULTURE, HIDERABAD.
- (7) Relations between domestic, royal and religious architecture : Introductory chapter in L. V. Velthoim Lottum's "Kleine Weltgeschichte des staedtischen Wohnhauses", HEIDELBERG 1952.



Sundarpur Coloney, house with Bengal roof



Ranpur, wall painting in Palace

Corrigendum.

For "Strictly speaking however there is a distinction between the characters of the Bānpur plates and that of the Kondeḍḍa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 267-70), Purī (*JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.) and Chaṇḍeśwar Plates (*JKHRS*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 65 ff.) and 2 the Nivina grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 38-41) all of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja."

Read "Strictly speaking however there is a distinction between the Characters Bānpur plates and *those* of the Kondeḍḍa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 267-70) Purī (*JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.) and Chaṇḍeśwar plates (*JKHRS*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 65 ff.) of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja, although the former resemble the characters of the Nivina grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 38-41) of the same king."

PALAEOGRAPHY OF THE ŚAILODBHAVA GRANTS

Dr. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D., Ootacamund.

The Banpur plates of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja (circa 695-730 A. D.) have been edited by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 38 ff. and Plates. I have stated in that article that, in respect of palaeography language and orthography, the said charter resembles the other published records of the Śailodbhava king in question. Strictly speaking however there is a distinction between the characters of the Banpur plates and that of the Kondedda (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 267-70), Puri (*JBERS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff) and Chandesar plates *JKIRS*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 65 ff., and the Nivina grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 38-41), all of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja. The distinction was not emphasised partly through oversight and partly because I was under the impression that the controversy regarding the palaeography of the grants of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja II (Śrīnivāsa) (circa 610-65 A. D.), grandfather of Dharmarāja, disappeared with the publication of the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 14 ff.) of that king. But a study of the section on the Śailodbhavas in the recently published *Classical Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People)*, Vol. III, 1954, has led me to think that the light thrown by the Banpur plate on the problems of Śailodbhava history should not have been passed over in silence in my article referred to above. In the following pages I shall try to rectify that error.

It is well-known that the Ganjam plates, dated in the Gupta year 300-619 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.), and the Khurda plates (*JASB*, Vol. LIII, pp. 284 ff.) both of the Śailodbhava king Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja II, son of Ayaśobhita II and grandson of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja I, have their introductory part couched in prose and are written in the normal East Indian characters of the seventh century A. D. The Ganjam plates were issued when the Śailodbhava ruler was a feudatory of the Gauḍa emperor the Śaśaṅka (circa 600-20 A. D.) while the Khurda plates, without date, were issued when he had already freed himself from the Gauḍa yoke shortly after 619 A. D. The Buguḍa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 43 ff.) and Puri (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 127-28) plates of the Śailodbhava king Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja II Śrīnivāsa, son of Ayaśobhita II who is stated to have been born in the family of Mādhavarāja I, are written in the modified Northern Alphabet prevalent in the southern parts of Orissa. The introductory part of these inscriptions is in verse unlike that of the Ganjam and Khurda plates. The palaeography of these records also offers a slightly different and later look, although we have now evidence to show that the characters employed in them have to be assigned to the seventh and eighth centuries and that the issuer of these charters was no other than the Śailodbhava ruler who issued,

earlier in his career, the Ganjam and Khurda plates. It should be pointed out that the characters of the Buguḍa plates offer a little later look even than those of the Puri plates; but this is quite satisfactorily explained by the fact that the original inscription on the Buguḍa plates was beaten in and reengraved on the copper-plates at a date later than that of its issue. The records of Ayaśobhita II Madhyamarāja (cirea 665-95 A. D.) and Māmabhita Dharmarāja (cirea 695-720 A. D.), son and grandson respectively of Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, were found to exhibit close resemblance with the characters of the Buguḍa and Puri plates.

The difference in the palaeography of the Ganjam and Khurda plates on the one hand and the Buguḍa and Puri plates as well as the charters issued by the son and grandson of the issuer of the Buguḍa and Puri records on the other led some scholars to suggest that the issuer of the first group was a remote ancestor of that of the second (cf. Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 144; Kielborn, *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 102). Dr. R. G. Basak however suggested that the Buguḍa and Puri plates were issued by the grandson of the issuer of the Ganjam and Khurda plates (*History of North-eastern India*, Calcutta, 1954, p. 179). The theory was repeated by Dr. Basak in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 126-27.

In his opinion the characters of the two groups of Sailadbhava grants could not have been separated by a very wide gap of time.

In an article published in *JAIRB*, Vol. X, pp. 1-15, Dr. R. C. Majumdar relied on the same difference between the two groups of Sailadbhava grants referred to above and was inclined to assign the issuer of the Ganjam and Khurda plates to cirea 615 A. D. but that of Buguḍa and Puri plates to cirea 850 A. D. This view was no doubt opposed to the known facts of Orissan history and was therefore not seriously considered by scholars. Dr. Majumdar also seems to have modified his opinion on the subject in his recent treatment of Sailadbhava history, published in the *Classical Age* referred to above.

In *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 151-53, the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar published the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates* of Sainyabhita Mādhavarman II Śrīnivāsa and showed that, while the text of the introductory part of this record closely resembles that of the Buguḍa and Puri plates, its characters are exactly the same as that of the Ganjam and Khurda plates. This fact quite satisfactorily answered the palaeographical objection to the identification of the issuer of the Ganjam and Khurda plates with that of the Buguḍa and Puri plates. But in his recent note on Sailadbhava history (*Classical Age*, pp. 144 ff.) Dr. R. C. Majumdar says, "Some scholars think that the two groups of kings (i. e. the issuer of the Buguḍa, Puri and Cuttack Museum plates and his two ancestors on the one hand and that of the Ganjam and Khurda plates and his two ancestors on the other) are indential. But there are two objections to this view. In the later group Ayaśobhita is said to have been a son of Sainyabhita but in the former he is said to be born in the family of that king. It is very doubtful whether a son of a king would be referred to, in an official record, as born in his family. Secondly the alphabets of the records of the former group of kings are distinctly later. But recently one record of this family (the Cuttack Museum plates) has come to light which is written in

* The same inscription has been recently published by Pandit Satyanarayana Rajguru as an "unpublished" record in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. II Nos. 3-4, pp. 6 ff.

characters not very dissimilar to these used by the other group of kings. This has no doubt strengthened the case for the identification of the two groups of kings; but this point must still be regarded as uncertain, and some scholars regard the former group as different from and reigning later than the latter". These "some scholars" are however referred to in a foot-note as Basak and Kielhorn who wrote before the publication of the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates,

Now the palaeographical problem created by the difference between the two groups of inscriptions, viz., (1) the Ganjam and Khurda plate, and (2) Buguda and Puri plates, is, as we have noted above, quite satisfactorily solved by the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates, the introductory part of which is the same as, that of the second group but the characters of which are exactly similar to those of the first group. The elucidation of the problem has now been further advanced by the Banpur plates of Dharmarāja, who is represented in his inscriptions as a grand-son of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II Śrīnivāsa, issuer of the Buguda, Puri and Cuttack (Museum) plates. Although the other charters of Dharmarāj are written in characters which are the same as those found in the Buguda and Puri plates of the second group of charters issued by Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II Śrīnivāsa, the Bānapur plates and Nivina grant exhibit an alphabet which is the same as that employed in the Ganjam, Khurda and Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates. This makes it absolutely clear that, in the seventh and eighth centuries, the normal East Indian alphabet and a modified form of the Northern Alphabet were both prevalent side by side in the southern parts of Orissa. It is now impossible to speak of the characters of one group of Śailodbhava plates as earlier than that of another group.

The only remaining ground against the identification of the issuer of the Ganjam and Khurda plates with that of the Buguda, Puri and Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates is that the former's father Ayaśobbhita (II) is described as the son of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja (I) while the latter's father of the same name is stated to have been born in the family of Sainyabhīta (Mādhavarman) (I). As we have seen, the introductory part of the first group of records is couched in prose. The Ganjam plates were issued when Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja was a feudatory of the Gauda king; but the Khurda plates were apparently issued soon after he had assumed independence. The introduction of the second group of charters is however written in verses composed by a court poet of the Śailodbhava king when he had already performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice to commemorate his newly acquired independence. Most of these stanzas are also quoted in the grants of Ayaśobbhita II and Dharmarāja.

We have suggested that the difference between the description of the relation between Ayaśobbhita (I) and Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman (I) in the two groups of inscriptions was probably due to the fact that Ayaśobbhita was a scion of the Śailodbhava family adopted as son by his royal predecessor. (*New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, p. 83). The representation of a son as a descendant is also not entirely unknown in Indian literature. The *Rājatarāṅginī*, VIII, .033, speaks of the son as the descendant of his father (see Stein's translation, Vol. II, p. 512). For similar other instances, see also the Malavalli inscriptions of the Chuṭu-śātakarnis and the Kadambas (*Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 200), Assam plates of Vallabharāja, line 16 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 184), *Naishadhīya*, V, 121, etc.

1. The learned editor of the Nivina grant did not notice this interesting palaeographical feature of the inscription."

Considering the fact the palaeography of the two groups of Sailodbhave grants must, as is now known, be ascribed to the very same age and that the Sailodbhava genealogy offered by the two groups is the same with the only exception of a slight variation in the description of one king which also seems to be explicable, I cannot think of any valid objection now to the identification of the Ganjam (619 A. D.) and Khurda plates with that of the Buguda, Puri and Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates.

POET MĀRKANDEYA MĪSRA AND HIS WORKS

By Sri K. N. Mahapatra.

There are two paper manuscripts containing the copy of an unpublished sanskrit work called 'Dasagrivabadha Mahākāvyaṃ' in the Manuscript collection of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. This Mahākāvya was composed by one Mārkaṇḍeya Kavichakravartī whose memory is now practicably lost in to oblivion. So an humble attempt is made here to bring this once-famous poet within the range of knowledge of the scholarly world.

The poet gives some information about himself, his family, and the date of this work in the last three verses (57, 58 and 59) of the last Sarga or canto and the colophon at the end of D.B.M.¹, which are quoted below.

भास्वत् बशमणेर्बभूवकपिलक्षीणीपते नन्दनो ।
बीरः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमो गजपतिर्भाग्य भवोमूर्तिमत् ॥
आक्रोमारदिनान्महाप्रियमुहत्तस्याभवत् काश्यपः —
श्रीमान्मङ्गलदेव इत्यतीमतो गोष्ठीषु विद्याव्रताम् । ५७ ।
श्रीरुद्रे पुरुषोत्तमेन्द्रतनये प्रोद्गामदोर्मण्डली—
क्रीडा खण्डित-शात्रवे बसुमती मासागरं शासति
श्रीमान् मङ्गलदेव सूनुरमनागाराध्य वाग्वादिनीं
माकर्ण्य कवि स्तदेतदतनोत् काव्यं हरेः प्रीतये । ५८ ।
भोगाभोग मुरीकरोति धरणी यावद्भुजङ्गे शितु—
लोकालोकगिरिं प्रदक्षिणयते यावत्त्विषामीश्वरः
श्रीरामस्य गुणाम्बुधे गुणलवेनारब्धमेतन्न वं
काव्यं मे विदधातु तावदसकृत् प्रीतिं प्रसन्नात्मनां । ५९ ।

इतिश्रीकाश्यपगोत्रसमुद्भव श्रीमन्मङ्गलदेव-देहसम्भव माकण्डेयाभिध
कविराज-चक्र-चक्रवर्तीं विरचिते दशग्रीववधे महाकाव्ये श्रीरामस्वपुराभिषेको
नामविंशतितमः सर्गः । शम् समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः ॥

The meaning of the three verses quoted above is as follows. The famous Gajapati Puruṣoṭtama Deva, the son of Kapileśvara Deva, the crest-jewel of the Sūryavamśa or Solar dynasty, was a great hero and was, as it were the Fortune-incarnate of the realm. Maṅgala Deva, born in the Kāśyapa-gotra

1. *Dasagrivabadha Mahakavyam* is henceforward abbreviated as D. B. M.

or lineage, and well-known among scholars was an intimate friend and constant companion of Purushottama Deva from his early days. Poet Mārkaṇḍeya, son of Maṅgala Deva, composed this work by virtue of his constant devotion to goddess Sarasvatī, when Pratāprudra Deva, son of Purushottama, the destroyer of enemies was ruling over the earth girdled by the ocean, for the satisfaction of Hari. The poet fondly hoped that his work describing the achievements of god Kāmachandra will render constant satisfaction to the learned scholars, as long as Vāsukī, the lord of the serpents would be holding the earth over his fangs, and the Sun would be rising in the Udayāchala.

From the colophon, quoted above it is known that he was the son of Maṅgala Deva of the Kāśyapa lineage and was the greatest poet of the age, for which he bears the title 'कविराज-चक्र चक्रवर्ती' 'great among the greatest poets' and his work D. B. M. contained twenty Sargas or cantos. In the colophons given at the end of the five cantos eg, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth he calls himself. Mārkaṇḍeya Miśra, while in those given at the end of fourteen out of the remaining fifteen Sargas he calls himself Mārkaṇḍeya Deva, and in the colophon given at the end of this work after the twentieth or last Sarga, he simply calls himself Mārkaṇḍeya. From this it may be concluded that the surname of his family was Miśra. Brāhmanas having Kāśyapagotra and the surname of Miśra are still found in many parts of Orissa.

From the verses quoted above, it is quite clear that Mārkaṇḍeya and his father were contemporaneous with Gajapati Purushottama Deva (1466-1497) and his son Gajapati Pratāporudra Deva (1497-1540), the then Sūryavaṃśī Emperors of Orissa. In his 'Abhinava Benīsaṃpharaṇa Nātakam', which is still unpublished, Gajapati Purushottama Deva, claims the authorship of four other works e. g. Ananda-Vilāsa, Daśagrīva-badha, Jānakī-Pramoda and Kuvalayāśva e. g.

गजपति श्री पुरुषोत्तमदेवेन महाराजेनविरचित आनन्द विलास-दशग्रीवबध-
जानकीप्रमोद-कुबलाश्व प्रभृति विविध-रूप-रूपक सहोदर मभिनव वेणीसंहरणं नाम
नाटकं²

Daśagrīva-badha, the authorship of which is attributed to Gajapati Purushottama Deva in the text quoted above, is perhaps identical with the Daśagrīvabadha Mahākāvyaṃ, which was actually composed by Mārkaṇḍeya. Similar cases of attribution of authorship by the poets to their patrons are also found in the Sūryavaṃśī period. It is known from the 'Bhāratāmṛta Mahākāvyaṃ', an unpublished work, two palm leaf manuscripts of which are preserved in the collection of the O. S. Museum, that its author Kavichandra Rāy Divākara Miśra, was also the author of a work named Abhinava Gītagovinda. e. g.

यं प्राप्त पतिव्रता गुणवतीं मुक्ताविमुक्तात्मनः
श्री वैदेश्वरतो विभूषित भरद्वाजान्वयादात्मजं
काव्ये तस्य सहोदरादभिनव श्री गीतगोविन्दतः
ऽप्योजःशालिनि सप्तविंशतितमः सर्गः समाप्तोऽभवत् ।

(last verse of 27th Sarga .³

2. *The Prachi* 1931 Vol. I p. 6.

3. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* No. I. VII Kavya⁴ Manuscripts in the collection of A. S. B. No. 5181, p. 150,

It is quite clear from the above verse that Kavichandra Rāy, Divākara Miśra, the son of Vaideśvara of the Bharadvāja gotra and his wife Mukta Devi composed Abhinava Gitgovindī. In spite of this, the authorship of this work is claimed by Gajapati Purushottama Deva which will be evident from the quotations given below.

- (a) राधामुरारि रमणीय रहस्यलीला -
समेत सुन्दर ममन्द पुराभिरामम् ।
साहित्य-सारं समुदाय बुधः प्रबन्ध-
मेतं करोति पुरुषोत्तमभूमिभर्ता ॥

(fifth verse at the beginning of the work).

- (b) Colophon:— इति श्री पुरुषोत्तमदेव गजपति महाराज कृते अभिनव
गीतगोविन्दे महाकाव्ये स्वाधीनभक्तृकावणने सानन्दमुकुन्दोनामो
दशमोः सर्गः¹

Similarly the authorship of 'Sarasvatī Vilāsa' and 'Pratāpa Mārtanḍa' two famous works on Dharmaśāstra, which were compiled by Lolla Lakshmidhar Bhatta and Rāmkrishna Bhatta respectively is claimed by Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva. So it can safely be concluded that D. B. Mahākāvya, which is claimed as a work by Gajapati Purushottama Deva was actually composed by Mārkaṇḍeya, towards the close of his reign, as Gajapati Pratāparudra was ruling when this work was finished. So 1500 A. D. may be approximately taken as the date of this work.

This was the age when the stories of the two great Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and the stories of the great Bhāgavata Purāṇa, were written in shape of Mahākāvyas by the Sanskrit Poets of Orissa, Kavichandrarāya Divākara Miśra, and Kavidīṇḍīma Jivadeva Āchārya, who adorned the courts of Gajapati Purushottama and his son Gajapati Pratāparudra wrote Bhāratāmṛta Mahākāvya and Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvya respectively. (5) & (6) Similarly the whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa became the subject matter of D. B. Mahākāvya, as will be evident from the names of the twenty Sargas, which are quoted below.

(1) Bhagabatbījñāpana, (2) Kumārodaya, (3) Visvāmītra Samāgama, (4) Sri Rāma Samarpaṇa (5) Ahalyānugraha, (6) Pinākabhāṅga, (7) Daśaratha Āgamana, (8) Jānakī-pariṇaya, (9) Ayodhyāpraveśa, (10) Sri Rāma Vanavāsa, (11) Pañchavatīnivāsa, (12) Sūrpanakhānigraha, (13) Kharādibadha, (14) Sitāharāṇa, (15) Sitā-saṇḍarsana, (16) Laṅkā Dahana, (17) Samudra-bilodana, (18) Laṅkābestana, (19) Indrajitabadha, (20) Sri Rāma-vapurā-visheka. But it can not be definitely said in the present state of our knowledge which of these three contemporary Orissan poets, was the pioneer in the field of composing this type of Kāvya. But Jivadeva who was the eldest of the three, being a rival of the father of Divākara, might have taken the lead in this matter,

About the merit and importance of this unpublished Mahākāvya in the Sanskrit literature, I am not in a position to make any comment due to

4. do Vo, 5180 p, 145

5. Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the collection of A. S. Bencal Vol. VII, Kavya Manuscripts, no. 5181, p. 150.

my want of deep knowledge in Sanskrit. But to me, the style of composition of this work seems to be simple, lucid and expressive.

As regards other works, written by this poet, no information is to be found from the D. B. Mahākāvya, noticed above. But in this connection another point which deserves consideration, here is the existence of another famous contemporary San-krit scholar named Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra who was the author of a reputed work called 'Prākṛta Sarvasva', which has already been printed and published.⁷ This Mārkaṇḍeya calls himself 'Kavindra' in the introductory verse after Maṅgalācharaṇam and also in the colophon at the end of each Pāda or section e. g.

शाक्य-भरत कोहल-वररुचि-भामहवसन्तराजाद्यैः

प्रोक्तान् ग्रन्थात्रानालध्यानिच निपुणमालोक्य ॥

आख्याकीर्णं विशदं सारं स्वल्पाक्षरग्रथितपद्यम् ।

मार्कण्डेयकवीन्द्रः प्राकृतसर्वस्वमारभते ॥

Colophon at the end of each pāda-इति श्री मार्कण्डेयकवीन्द्रकृतौ प्राकृतसर्वस्ये

From the verse at the end of the vimśatitama pāda or last section, it is known that Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra finished this work in the village Virapratāpapura, where he lived, when the great hero Mukunḍa Deva, the destroyer of enemies was ruling over Utkala like Raghupati or Rāmchandra over Ayodhya e. g.

श्रीमद्वीरमूकुन्ददेवनृपती दोःस्तम्भकुम्भीनस—

कोडा ग्रस्त-समस्त शत्रवकुल-प्राणानिले धर्मतः ।

शासत्युत्कलमेदिनी रघुपती साक्षादयोध्यामिव

ग्रामे दीग्वर प्रताप नृपतेः पूर्णो निबन्धो नवः ॥

This great Mukunḍa Deva praised by Kavindra has been satisfactorily identified with the Gajapati Mukunḍa Deva (1559-1563), the last powerful independent Hindu ruler of Utkala by Sri Paramananda Acharya, an eminent Historian of Orissa.⁸ The village Virapratāpapura, where the poet lived is a Brāhmaṇa Śāsana or village, founded by Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva which still exists not far from Sakshigopal Bly, Station in the District of Puri.

I am tempted to identify Mārkaṇḍeya, author of D. B. Mahākāvya with his name-sake, who wrote Prākṛtasarvasva for the reasons given below. Both bore the same name and were Brāhmaṇa by caste. Both were famous poets, one calling himself कविराज-चक्र-चक्रवर्ती and the other 'कवीन्द्र' Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra lived in Virapratāpapura Śāsana not far from Puri. Though the place of residence of the other is not mentioned in his work, he may be taken as a man of the Puri-side, as his father Maṅgala Deva, was a constant companion of Gajapati Purushottama Deva, who mainly resided at Puri. Moreover the close resemblance in the language and mode of expression the two verses describing expressions the might and heroism of Gajapati Pratāparudra and Mukunḍa Deva, in D. B. Mahākāvya and Prākṛta Sarvasva respectively is significant e. g.

6. Shastri, Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1901-1905 pp 14 16.

7. Edited by Vaidyaratnam Sri V. Bhattanatha Swami and published by the Asha Company, Vizagapatnam-1927.

8. 'Oriya Sahitya Itihasa' or History of Oriya Literature. The Sahasra (Oriya monthly) Vol. 23, Part-10, p. 402.

- (a) प्रोदाम-दोम षडली-क्रीडाखण्डितशात्रवे वसुमती—
मासागरं यासति शीरुद्रे (D. B. Mahākāvya)
- (b) दोः-स्तम्भ-कुम्भीनस-क्रीडा-ग्रस्त ससस्तशात्रवकुल—
प्राणानिले उत्कलमेदिनी शासति श्रीमद्वीरमुकुन्द
देव नृपती (Prākṛta Sarvasva)

This close resemblance is not certainly accidental. On the contrary, it may lead one to conclude that both the verses might have been composed by one and the same person. In case, the two are taken to be different persons, then we are to assume that, two great poets bearing the same name, born of the same caste flourished in the same Puri area in the same age. But such coincidence though not impossible, seems improbable. So until the contrary is proved to be true, both of them may be taken as identical. In that case Mārkaṇḍeya must have lived for a pretty long time say 90 years from circa 1475-1565 A. D.

From the history of Oriya literature, it is known that there lived a famous Oriya poet named Mārkaṇḍeya, who composed a pathetic poem named *Keśava Koili* alias *Yasodā-Koili*. It is a monologue, in which mother Yasodā discloses her thoughts before a Koili or a cuckoo bird by addressing the bird as O' koili, and the address portion forms the theme of the poem. This is the earliest known Dūta-kavitā in the Oriya literature and was written in imitation of the Meghadūta by Kalidasa.

Jagannātha Dāsa, the greatest Oriya devotee poet of this age composed '*Artha Koili*' in circa 1530 A. D. to give a spiritual interpretation to the text of the *Keśava Koili*, which had attained great popularity in his time. *Keśava koili* which was written some years before *Artha Koili* may tentatively be placed in circa 1500 A. D. So Mārkaṇḍeya, the author of this famous Oriya lyric becomes a contemporary of the two Sanskrit poets of the same name, and like them also he was the resident of some Brahmana village near about Puri.

Thus it can be concluded that the three great poets bearing the same name and flourishing in some Brāhmaṇa village near about Puri in the same century may be taken as identical. This identification suggested above may be taken as tentative, till it is conclusively proved by the discovery of fresh evidence.

In this connection it may be noted that Sir George A. Grierson, who made a critical examination of Prākṛta Sarvasva of Mārkaṇḍeya in his different papers⁹ on Prākṛta and Paisāchi, wrote about his date as follows "Rama Śarmaṇ and Mārkaṇḍeya probably both belonged to the 17th century"¹⁰. This date of Mārkaṇḍeya fixed by this eminent scholar has been accepted by subsequent writers. But in view of the facts stated above, Mārkaṇḍeya, the author of Prākṛta Sarvasva can not be placed in the seventeenth century, as patron Mukunda Deva, who was no other than the last independent Hindu Ruler of Orissa of that name ruled from 1559 to 1563 A. D.

(a) J. R. A. S. 1913 pp. 875-883.

(b) J. R. H. A. S. 1918 pp. 4-9 517

(c) Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.

(d) Memoir of the A. S. Bengal Vol. VIII pp 77 120.

Sir Anugosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol III, pt. II, p 112.

A GRANT OF LAND TO LORD JAGANNATHA OF THE TIME OF PADMANABHA DEVA

S C Dey

The deed of gift is recorded on two paper documents of the dimensions, 15" x 5". They were originally in the office of the Collector, Cuttack; now they are preserved in the Orissa State Archives.

Character and Language :

The first document, which contains the details of the grant, viz, names of the donor, donee, land granted, date of grant etc. is written in old Persian script. The other document is written half in Persian Script and half in Oriya Script. Many of the alphabets used in the Oriya portion belong to what is commonly known as *Karani* Script, or, Oriya Court Script, which is still used in writing out official documents in the Courts. It is not definitely known when this script was developed. In the Oriya inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries of the Christian era we do not come across this script. It seems, this script was developed during the Mughal regime, and came into use for quick-writing on paper.

The document under reference is a bilingual one; upper half is written in Persian, the Court language of Orissa under the Mughal and Maratha regimes. The lower half is the Oriya version of the Persian text. The language faulty grammatically as is the case with most of the Oriya inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries; punctuation marks have not been used at all. There are a large number of spelling mistakes. Some of the words are now almost obsolete. The document however provides us with the type of language used in the Courts of Orissa in the 18th century.

Date :

There is no date in the document. It was issued on the 10th day of *mīna* (Chaitra) in the 5th *auka* of the reign of Padmala (na) bha Deva. From the data available, it is difficult to fix the date of the grant accurately. This much can be said that the grant was made about the middle of the 18th century, as, Padmalābha Deva succeeded Ramachandra Deva II, the Raja of Khurda of the Bhoi dynasty, about the year 1735 A.D.

Padmanābha Deva was the king of Patia.¹ After the death of Rāmchandra Deva II, Padmanabha Deva was set up as the king of Khurda by Mir Habib, the Diwan to the Deputy Governor of Orissa, Murshid Quli Khan II.² The exact duration of the reign of the king is not known. According to one version of *Madalāpāñji*, Rāmchandrā Deva II died 1738, and after him, Padmanābha Deva ruled for three years.³ In another manuscript of *madalāpāñji* Padmanabha Deva is said to have reigned for some time after the death of Rāmchandra deva.⁴ Hunter and Stirling omit the name of Padmanābha Deva altogether⁵. In Banerjee's *History of Orissa*, Padmanābha Deva is assigned to the interim period between the death of Ramchandradeva in 1742 and accession of Virakisoredeva in 1743.⁶

The date of Padmanābha Deva can only be fixed by determination of the date of accession of the Virakisoredeva, or the end of the reign of Rāmchandra Deva II. Unfortunately we are in very uncertain position in respect of both. According to the date given in a Sanskrit manuscript, *Surisarvasva*, the 50th year of Virakisore Deva fell on 1778 A. D., so his date of accession comes to 1728 A. D. (*O. H. R. J.*, Vol I No 1, p. 58). According to another unpublished Oriya manuscript, *Suchitra Ramayana*, the 19th regnal year of Virakishore Deva fell on 1754; so his 1st regnal year falls on 1735 A. D. We get the date of Virakishore Deva from another source. The Collector, Cuttack enclosed an extract from a Persian record containing the genealogy of the Khurda Rajas with his letter No. 1809 dated 11-10-1809 addressed to the Commissioner (*vide Appendix*). According to this genealogy Virakishore Deva ascended the throne in the (*amālī*) year 1147, equivalent 1739-40 of the Christian era.

The above dates make the position confusing. But we have to remember that Padmanābha Deva was set up as the Rājā of Khurdā after the death of Ramachandra Deva II by Mir Habib, the Diwan of Murshid Quli Khan II, who was the Governor of Orissa from 1734-40 A. D. (*vide*) Hunter, *Op Cit*, p. 197). So the death of Rāmchandra Deva II occurred during the period. The dates given in the manuscript noted above do not seem tenable from this point of view. The date in the Persian record seems acceptable. If we take Padmanabha Deva to have ruled 4 years during the period of Mir Habib's supremacy under Murshid Quli Khan II, we have to assign him to the period between 1734-1740 A. D. On these considerations the death of Rāmchandra Deva II may be assigned to 1734-1735 A. D. and accession of Padmanabha Deva to 1735-1736 A. D. According to Hunter, Rāmchandra Deva II ruled from 1725 to 1735 A. D. (*Op Cit* p. 195). According to one version of *Madalā Pāñji*, Vira Kisore Deva ascended the throne in 1738 A. D. Thus the date of the Persian Manuscript record in respect of Virakishore Deva is almost in accord with the date assumed by Hunter and that given in the *Mādālā Pāñji*.

1. A small estate lying midway between Cuttack and Bhubaneswar to the south of the former and north of the latter. Originally it was a part of Khurda. After Mughal conquest of Orissa it was separated from it and conferred on the second son of Mukunda Deva, the last independent king of Orissa, by Raja Man Singh. The eldest son of Mukundadeva was given the estate of Aul, while Ramchandradeva I of the Bhoi dynasty was confirmed in possession of Khurda on payment of tribute. Thus the descendants of Mukundadeva were looked upon as rivals of the Rajas of Khurda of the Bhoi dynasty; *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Puri, p. 66.
2. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, p. 87.
3. *Madalapanji* (Prachi samiti), pp. 76-77.
4. *Ibid*, p. 80.
5. Hunter, *Orissa* Vol II, Appendix, p. 190; Stirling, *An Account of Orissa*, p. 87.
6. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II. p. 87.

The historical importance of the document under reference, therefore, lies in the fact that it dispels all doubts about Padmanābha Deva's reign. The grant was made in 5th *anka* of the reign of Padmanābha Deva. According to the *anka* system of calculation, 1, 6, and all numbers with 6 and 0 at the end excepting 10, are to be excluded. So the fifth *anka* of the king's reign means the 4th regnal year. Thus it proves definitely that Padmanābha Deva ruled as the Rājā of Khurdā for at least four years, if not more. If the date of accession Padmanabha Deva be 1735-36 A. D., the grant was made in 1738-39 A. D.

Text in Oriya

- (१) *श्री पद्मला(ना)भ देव महाराजाङ्क
बीजे राये (विजय राज्ये)
(२) समस्त अ ५ ङ्कमिन(मीन) दि १० न पुरुसो(पा)न(त्त)म
खे(क्षे) व
(३) दक्षिण पारुसे (पार्श्व) महन्त हरेकृष्ण दाम गो
(४) चरे एहि खेत्रे (क्षेत्रे) बामलि माउ (हारे) रहणि
(५) रामचन्द्र दत्त (न) देला अमृत मणोहि चोप (१)
(६) ए निमन्ते चोप लेखि देलु आम्भ राहाङ्ग
प्रा (प्रगना)
(७) समगं (ङ्ग) ग्राम सर्वमगं (ङ्ग)लाङ्क कुलारे
(८) तोटा गोटी(टि)कु मा १२ प श्री जगन्नाथ महाप्रभुङ्क
(९) अमृत मू(म)णोहि की(कि) आपणङ्क मठतले (तले) देलु
(१०) आज दिन अद (द्य)ठारु
वगिचा करि फल तुल(ल)सी
(११) लगाइ श्री जगन्नाथ महाप्रभुङ्क सेवारे
(१२) लगाइ जा(या)वत चन्द्राके (कं) अमल(ल) करिब
(१३) ए चोप रामचन्द्र दत्त(दत्त)र
समत (सम्मत)

Translation of the Oriya Text :

On the 10th day of the month of *mīna* in the 5th *anka* of the victorious and auspicious reign of Mahārājā Padmalā (na) bha Deva, Ramchandra Data, resident of Basalisahi⁷ executed the *chope sanad*⁸ granting 12 *manas* of land in

7. A street of the Puri town to the west of the Jagannatha temple named after goddess Basali worshipped in that area.

8. *Chope Sanad* is a term used in Orissa meaning grant of rent-free lands in perpetuity (Wilson, *Glossary*, p. 177). *Chope* is a Hindi word meaning a deed of grant, the donee is called *chopdar* (Nanda Sarma, *Sabdatatvabodha Abhidhan*, p. 456).

village Samaṅga⁹ in the *pargana* Rāhāṅg¹⁰ towards the Amṛtamanohi¹¹ endowment of Lord Jagannātha in the presence¹² of Harekrishna Das, *Mahant* of Dakṣiṇāparusa *maṭha* of Purushottama Kshetra. The above land was to be converted into a garden of flower and *tulasī* plants for use of Lord Jagannatha at the time of his worship for ever.

9. A village in Puri Sadr Police Station about 2 miles from the Puri Railway Station. In the thana map, it is numbered 122.
10. It is a very big *pargana* in the Puri District ; it occupies second place in respect of area. In 1890 its area was 147.42 sq miles with 236 villages in it (Maddox, *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement of the Province of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 521). Virakisora Deva was attacked by another Chief Narayana Deva of Parlakimedi, in his 16th regnal year about the year, 1749 A. D.. Virakisore Deva took Marāṭha help and expelled the invader. As the king could not pay the expenses of the campaign, the *parganas* of Limbai, Rahang and the Puri, town were mortgaged to the Marāṭha Governor. Thus, the best part of Khurda raja's estate became *khās* property of the Marāṭhas, and when the English came, they retained them as such. (Bauerjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 120.)
11. Amritamanohi (*0*), the offerings to Lord Jagannatha ; property endowed for Lord Jagannatha.
12. *Gochare* (*0*), ordinarily it means, 'in presence of' ; here it means, through the agency of'.

APPENDIX

No. 13.

Extract from the Persian Records of the Sudder Canungoe of Cuttack.

LIST OF THE FORMER RAJAHS OF KILLAH KHOORDAH.

Name of the Rajah.		Umlee Year.
1. Beer Ramchunder Deo.	...	...
2. Poorsothum Deo, son of -do-	...	1023
3. Nursing Deo,	...	1030 Youngest.
} sons of Poorsuttum Deo.		
Bulbhudder Deo.	...	1053 Eldest.
Mokoond Deo, son of Bulbhudder Deo	...	1077
6. Dirbsing Deo, son of Mokoond Deo	...	1090
7. Haurkissen Deo, — do—	...	...
and youngest brother of Beerkissore		...
8. Gopinath Deo son of Haurkissen Deo	...	...
9. Ramchunder Deo, -do- -do-	...	...
10. Beerkissore Deo, son of Ramchunder Deo	...	...
11. Dirbsing Deo, the Grand-son of Beerkissore,	}	1147 Beerkissore Deo
and son of Jaggunath Rae...		having beheaded
12. Mokoond Deo	...	his two sons Jugga-
		nauth Rae & Bul-
		bhuder Rae was
		depo-ed from the
		Rajgee by the
		Marhatta Govern-
		ment and confined
		in Fort Barrabatty
		and the son of
		Jaggurnauth Rae
		raised to the Rajgee.

— — — — —

CUTTACK JAIL IN 1859

Sri S. C. De

F. Mount, Inspector General of Jails, Lower Provinces, inspected the Cuttack Jail on Saturday, the 2nd January, 1859. His memorandum on the Jail contains many interesting facts and gives us an idea about the Jail, almost a century back.

Wards : The Jail was divided into 13 wards, of which 7 (Nos. 1—6, and No. 10) were meant for labouring convicts, one for Hajat (No. 7), one for non-labouring convicts (No. 8), one for females (No. 11), and one for non-labouring Diwani prisoners (No. 12). Ward No. 9 was used as a condemned cell and No. 13 as Jail hospital.

Prisoners : There were 334 convicts at the time. Of them, 293 were labouring, 16 non-labouring, 20 Hajat prisoners and 4 lunatics. There was 1 State-prisoner.

Of these prisoners, 25 were sentenced for life, and what is most interesting, 18 females were among the 25 life-prisoners. Lājā of Banki² was, at the time, in the Cuttack Jail as a life-prisoner. He occupied one whole ward (No. 8) and was allowed to have his own servants. The I. G. who disapproved this arrangement remarked, "X X X I should like to know if there is anything in the sentence of the Raja of Banki to prevent his transfer, as he occupies most profitably a whole ward in the Jail and has more servants than he needs and deserves in confinement." He suggested transfer of all the life-prisoners to Alipore Jail.

Among the prisoners, 31 were sentenced to imprisonment for a period between 10 to 14 years, 8 for 7—10 years, 55 for 5—7 years, and 33 for 2—5 years. The remaining were sentenced to terms of imprisonment within two years. There were 20 prisoners in Hajat.

1. Ms. Vol. No. 330, O. S. A.

2. The name of the Raja {referred is Jagannath Srichandan. He got Raghunath Paramguru, who was the most influential person in the Estate, murdered through some people employed by him. He was arrested, convicted and was sentenced for life in that case. He was released from Jail in 1865 A. D., and he died in the same year. (*Banki Itikās*, by Nilakantha Sarma, pp. 34 ff.)

It appears that the Pāna class topped the list in respect of number. There were 70 Pānas among the prisoners. Next comes, in order, the Chasās, their number being 68. As regards other important castes or tribes, there were 49 Kaṇḍarās, 27 Gondas, 17 Brāhmins, 17 Musalmāns, 13 Mahāntis, 14 Sauras, and 10 Mehetars. There were people of some other castes or creeds, but their number did not exceed ten in each case.

Manufactures : Most of the labouring prisoners were employed on the roads. The I. G. of Prisons remarks in this connection, "I am afraid that too many prisoners are employed on the roads, and too few inside. If other manufactures are not sufficiently profitable, the weaving of cloth for the whole Jail and for the Puri and Balasore prisoners will certainly afford suitable and remunerative employment. The thread instead of being spun with a native spindle should be prepared by means of one of Mr. Maney's machines, which I will obtain and send from Calcutta when I have time to attend to it. All positively unprofitable manufactures should cease." Cloth, paper and thread were the principal manufactures of the Jail.

Distribution of Prisoner in Different Works : There were 293 labouring prisoners. They were given to do various works. But the majority of them, numbering 146 were employed in road-making, of the rest, 22 were engaged in cleaning the jail, 33 in paper-making, 32 in spinning, 20 in Hospital duties and 9 in weaving cloth. 2 washermen, 2 barbers and 4 mehetars were allotted their professional work. 10 were engaged in the lines. 3 were exempted on health grounds.

It appears, no body was employed for gardening purpose, probably due to the fact that there was no space for it then.

Hospital : There was one Hospital for Jail in charge of a 'Native Doctor, who had to dispense with the prescriptions of the 'Civil Station' in addition to his Jail duties without the help of a compounder. So, the I. G. suggested, "If he has the whole duty of the Civil Station to perform in addition to that of the Jail, a compounder on ten rupees a month should be allowed and the salary of one or other of them be debited to the Station."

With regard to the Doctor, one remark of the I. G. of Jails is worth-noting. He says, "There is not at present, sufficient stringent check upon the expenditure of medicines, all of which are left entirely in charge of the Native Doctor". This shows that the European officers had not much faith in the 'Native' officer's honesty.

The Civil Surgeon used to visit the Jail each week and examine the prisoners, their fetters, clothing, beddings, food and also the general sanitary condition of the Jail. His inspection report was sent to the Magistrate who gave such orders, or took such actions, as he deemed necessary.

Lunatics : There were four lunatics among the prisoners in the Jail. The I. G. of Prisons remarked in regard to them, "Although in some respects a convenience, the prison is really a most unfit place for lunatics. The moral means of cure which are now found to be so efficacious, can not be applied there, and the dread, unvisited solitude to which they are condemned is more than likely to prove prejudicial." He further remarked, "If the amount of madness in the province is insufficient for maintenance of a separate Asylum,

half a dozen properly constructed cells should be added to the charitable dispensary". He advised not to keep the lunatics in solitary cells meant for refractory prisoners.

Food : The I. G. of Prisons expressed his appreciation over the nice fooding arrangements made by the Magistrate. He says, "It has proved economical and has secured better food than could have been obtained at a higher cost under contract system". But, what was the exact nature of arrangement made by the Magistrate in place of the Contract system, or what was the type of food supplied, has not been indicated. It seems, formerly a contractor used to supply food, The Magistrate probably did away with the system and introduced cooking by paid servants under the personal superintendence of the Jailor, or the doctor. Since no prisoner was allotted the duty of cooking, it is presumed that the work was done by paid-cooks.

Convicts from Sambalpur : The remarks of the I. G. with regard to the Sambalpur prisoners is interesting. He says, "Like all other Junglee they die rapidly in confinement and are usually too stolid to be employed in manufactures. Road labour however, is not a healthy employment, in addition to its other disadvantages". So he thinks, "The garden alone would have dissipated the difficulty." relating to the Sambalpur prisoners. But unfortunately there was no space for garden.

He makes some suggestion regarding improvement of wards, privy, etc. As regards the general condition, he says, "The Jail is in excellent order throughout; it stands first among the prisons of the Lower Provinces for economy during the past year, its manufactures have increased; every injunction issued by me has been carefully observed; the records are well and carefully kept, the visiting book shows that the constant care of the authorities has been bestowed upon it; and I am satisfied that it is in as good state, as its faulty construction admits of. Its ventilation is imperfect; it is badly placed and too much surrounded by buildings; and arrangement of the wards renders classification impossible".

The memorandum of the I. G. of Prisons on the Cuttack Jail was submitted to the Hon'ble Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for his information and orders by C. T. Buckland, Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in his No. 3445, dated the 2nd March, 1859. While submitting the above report he wrote, "It has been ascertained from the Commissioner that the Rajah of Banki can not fairly be removed to Alipore. I have directed the transfer of female prisoners to Alipore."

The remarks of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was communicated to I. G. of Prisons by C. T. Buckland in his letter No. 1869 dated the 22nd March, 1859. The Governor expressed his appreciation over the general state of the institution.

BRITISH CONQUEST OF ORISSA AND EARLY BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

By Sri S. C. Pe.

British eyes on Orissa.

After the establishment of British rule in Bengal, the eyes of the British authorities were set on Orissa which separated their dominions of Bengal in the north and Northern-Sarcars in the south. For administrative and military purposes the necessity of acquisition of Orissa was keenly felt. Consequently, the English authorities began to set themselves to work for the achievement of that object as early as 1764.

British diplomacy at work

They first took recourse to diplomacy for the achievement of their end. The opportunity was afforded by the persistent Maratha demand for *Chauth* from the Nawab of Bengal. The English authorities suggested to Nawab Mir Qasim the invasion of Orissa for securing his kingdom against future apprehension of Maratha invasion. The English offered military help in lieu of assignment of the revenue of a *Pargana* of Orissa to the Company.¹ Thus the trap was laid for Mir Qasim, but he had already tasted the bitter pill of English friendship and was inwardly chafing to free himself of the encircling tentacles of the English diplomacy. So, he wisely expressed his unwillingness to run the risk. Thus, the first attempt of the English to secure their objective through subtle diplomacy proved abortive.

They, however, did not give up hope. They persisted in their attempts to secure cession of Orissa, if possible, by peaceful means. The puppet Nawab of Bengal was an easy instrument in their hands for attainment of their objective through subtle means. The Maratha demand for *Chauth* continued, and the Nawab, under instructions of the English, avoided payment on various pleas. The Maratha Chief, Janugi continued to threaten and coax alternately without ever coming forward to enforce his demands or execute his threats of the invasion of Bengal. The English continued to pull the wire from behind the screen. Under their instruction, their puppet, the Nawab of Bengal, Mir Jafar Ali Khan, who succeeded Mir Qasim, neither paid any *Chauth* nor refused to continuance the demand straight way. So negotiations

¹, Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 134-38.

went on for years, Januji was only chafing but could not venture to take any direct action due to his weakness. The English, on the other hand, were taking full advantage of Januji's weakness in respect of military strength and financial difficulty, and trying to bring about cession of Orissa by offering a lump-sum. A proposal for cession of Orissa was made through the Nawab and his Naib in 1767 A. D.; Januji, it was proposed, would get 13 lakhs of rupees annually in lieu of cession of Orissa. The move had almost been successful, but ultimately it fell through owing to the precastination of the English in regard to payment of *Chauth*².

Another attempt was made next year (1763). The English offered to pay three year's *Chauth* as the price of Orissa, But Januji did not agree, unless the treaty was signed by the king of England.³

Clive entertained a design to secure mastery over Orissa without payment of any money. His proposal was that Januji would appoint the Company as Zamindar of Orissa and receive rupees 16 lakhs annually⁴. Verselet, after Clive, offered 3 years *Chauth* if the Marathas ceded Orissa⁵ but Januji did not accept the proposal. Thus the Januji's attempt for realising the arrear *Chauth* never succeeded because of wire pulling by the British masters of the Nawab of Bengal. While they professed all sincerity and cordiality for Januji, they secretly instructed the Nawab not to countenance the demand of the Marathas for *Chauth*. Januji, though conscious of the double-dealings of the English authorities, who were intent on securing possession of Orissa on a nominal price, or no price, his own weakness prevented him from enforcing his demand by invasion of Bengal. Thus till Januji's death (1772 A. D.) the arrear amount due from Bengal remained outstanding and was never collected thereafter.

Though the English failed to bring about cession of Orissa, never the less, their subtle diplomacy helped them to avert a great danger to their stability in Bengal. The hope they dangled before Januji about payment of arrear *Chauth* prevented him from making a common cause with Mir Qasim when he appealed to Januji for help against the English.

Secondly the best Maratha Subahdar of Orissa, Sivaram Bhatia, who zealously guarded the interests of his master and who kept strict eye on the affairs of Bengal was removed from his post through British machinations. Sardesai, one of the authorities on Maratha History, writes about Sivaram as follows :

"He quarrelled with the English on behalf of his master in order to obtain *Chauth* from the English. He kept a strict eye on the affairs of Mir Jafar and Mir Qasim and tried his best to prevent the final conquest of Bengal by the English. The latter now conspired to bring Januji's wrath upon him. Januji foolishly took him to be a traitor and removed him from the Governorship of Orissa on 24th April 1764. But Sivaram did not leave his task. He gathered troops and attacked the English but was defeated on the 14th February 1767. He gathered bad characters (*Chuars*) and remained a thorn in the sides of the English for a long time. It is not known how he came to his end⁶."

2. *Ibid*, p. 163.

3. *Ibid*, p. 168.

4. *Ibid*, p. 173.

5. *Ibid*, p. 174.

6. *Ibid*, pp. 173-74.

The British authorities promptly despatched troops in aid of Januji for extermination of Sivaram, but they paid a deaf ear to Januji's request for military aid during his conflict with Peshwa Madhava Rao I in 1769 A. D.⁷ Thus the British authorities scored a great diplomatic victory over Januji, though they failed to bring about the cession of Orissa. Their diplomatic manoeuvres saved them from a great crisis when their position in Bengal was in great danger on account of their war with Mi Qasim.

The last opportunity for the Maratha to invade Bengal came in 1779 A.D. when all the great Indian powers, the Peshwa, Mahadaji Sinde, Haider Ali of Mysore and Nizam-ul-dolk of Hyderabad joined hands to form a confederacy against the English. Marhoji, who was then acting as regent of minor Raghuji Bhonsle II, was also a member of the confederacy. He was assigned the duty of invasion of Bengal. But instead of co-operating sincerely with other members, he proved a traitor by informing the English about the confederacy. He sent his son, Chimanji Bapu with a strong army to invade Bengal; Chimanji instead of invading Bengal lay idle at Cuttack. Warren Hastings, who was the then Governor of Bengal, manipulated things very subtly and succeeded in buying off Chimanji Bapu, who far from invading Bengal, granted a free passage to the English army under Colonel Pearce through Orissa. Thus the British diplomacy succeeded once again in averting a great danger to British position in Bengal.

Thus ended the long-drawn negotiation for *Chauth* on the part of the Marathas and for cession of Orissa on the part of the English in Bengal which failed mainly due to the mutual distrust and manipulation of the English for attainment of their objective with as little cost as possible.

But the English did not give up hope. They began preparation for eventual conquest of Orissa which they needed badly for sake of the security of their possessions in Bengal and Madras and also for fulfilling any design on the part of the Marathas against them.

British Preparation for the Second Maratha war (1803 A. D.).

The opportunity came soon. By the end of the 18th century, the English and the Marathas stood as two keen contestants for the domination of India. Both the parties felt that clash was inevitable, and consequently both were alert and watched keenly the moves of each other.

The British made the first move in the political chess-board of India in the beginning of the 19th century. Wellesley's aggressive policy hastened the course of events leading to the eventual clash, the Second Maratha War of 1803. By the Treaty of Bassein (1802) Bajji Rao II entered into the famous Subsidiary Alliance of Wellesley. The other Maratha chiefs naturally resented this virtual insubordination of the Head of their confederacy, though titular he might be, to the British power. It was a challenge to the Maratha aspiration for political domination of India. But, the Marathas, at this critical hour of their national life stood so disunited and so deep was the dissension among them, that they failed to unite together to take up the challenge of the British for sake of their national prestige, or even for their respective interests.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-03.

Holkar and Sindhia were at daggers drawn, Gaikwar was practically under British control. To add to this difficulty, there was no such leader as Nana Phadnavis, or Mahadaji Sindhia, to give them wise counsel and steer them safe across the troubled waters. Thus, the formidable Maratha power stood helpless sapped by internal quarrels jealousy and dissensions. Still however, attempts were made to patch up the differences and present an united front to the enemy for sake of national dignity and prestige.

But also ! it could not be. Gaikwar held himself in cold aloofness. Holkar, who had agreed to co-operate with Sindhia and Bhonsla treacherously left the confederacy and withdrew him-self to Malwa. So the whole burden fell on the shoulders of Sindhia and Bhonsla, and the prospect of success against the British power looked ominous. Still however, undaunted by these defections by their colleagues-in-arms, the other two Maratha Chiefs, Sindhia and Bhonsla, stood up to the occasion with all their resources.

The British, despite their superior military force, financial resources and local help, did not undermine the strength of the two united Maratha Chiefs. So they made preparations for the war with their characteristic thoroughness.

They did not depend only on their military strength. They brought into play their subtle subversive diplomacy as preparation of the ground for the achievement of the following objectives : —

- (a) Weakening Maratha military strength by enticing away Maratha soldiers to their side,
- (b) Preaching about the Maratha misrule and securing the aid of the Maratha allies and subjects by making promise of protection under British arms and by threats of consequence in case of Maratha reverses,
- (c) Securing aid of the Maratha officials by promise of alluring rewards.

Governor General while informing the Court of Directors of the instructions issued to the Commander-in-Chief says, "X X X The Commander-in-Chief was desired to promulgate a proclamation in his name, promising His Excellency's protection in person and property to the individuals who might furnish, on reasonable conditions, grain, cattle, etc. for the British army, giving assurance that no one would be molested unless taken in arms, and opposing the operations of the British army, by refusing it the necessary subsistence."⁹

He further instructed the Commander-in-Chief to conciliate the affections of the inhabitants of the countries through which the army passed continuing he says. "If there would be found some tributary Chiefs and principal officers of Scindeah X X X who might desire to renounce their promised obedience to that Chief and might wish to throw themselves upon the immediate protection of the English Government X X X he thought that the advantage might without injustice, be taken of the discontents and want of attachment of the subjects and officers belonging to that army." The Commander-in-Chief was authorised to give positive assurance of Honble Company's sincere protection to those 'who might break their oath of allegiance towards Scindeah', to take exact statements of revenues, with the names of

⁹ *History of the Transaction of the British Government in India* (1805), pp. 127-23. 4

revenues, with the names of those who possess them¹⁰ and to induce "the European officers and regular sepoys to quit the service of the Maratha chiefs and take advantage of the generous offer of the British Government."

The above will doubtless show how elaborately the British prepared for the war and how their characteristic diplomacy was harnessed to their military efforts for the attainment of their objective by arranging for subversive activities inside the enemy's territory and military actions from outside. The fifth-columnists inside the Maratha territories did help the British in winning the war with comparative ease.

The above instructions of the Governor General were strictly followed by the Commander-in-Chief with encouraging results. The Governor General reporting on the steps taken for successful conduct of the hostilities to the Secret Committee says, "Your honorable Committee will doubtless know how to appreciate the salutary consequences resulting to the public interest from the measures adopted by the Governor General for purpose of inducing the European officers and regular sepoys to quit the service of the Maratha Chiefs and take advantage of the generous offer of the British Government. The greater part of the European officers in the service of Dowlut Row Scindeah immediately left that Chief's army and were placed with exception of a small number under the vigilant care of the troops in their respective cantonments."¹¹

Similarly the sepoys in Sindhia's army, who formerly served under the British but were disbanded after conclusion of peace with France, were enticed away and employed under the Company.

Next we should see how far the British succeeded in their diplomatic endeavours to prevent a whole-hearted co-operation among the members of the Maratha confederacy and securing the allegiance of the feudatories and allies of Bhonsla and Sindhia to the British authority.

With regard to the first point, Major General Wellesly received instructions to endeavour "to soften the Peishwah's resentment against Holkar and Amrut Row, and to obtain from his highness some concessions in favour of those Chiefs, so as to induce them to submit to the authority of Peishwah × × "¹². That they succeeded in preventing the Maratha Chief from uniting together to form a solid block is evident from the attitude of Holkar and Gaikwar already referred to. Negotiations were at once started with other Indian princes, like Bundelkhand Rajput, Shah-Alam, Raja of Bharatpur, Rajput Princes of Jayanagar, Jodhpur and Gohad etc. and their allegiance to the British authority was secured.

Thus, the British had prepared the ground with their characteristic thoroughness and elaboration to ensure success in the war-to-come. They had created a corps of Fifth-Columnists inside Maratha territories, weakened the Maratha military strength by enticing away large number of their soldiers, prevented co-operation of the two most powerful members of the Maratha confederacy, Holkar and Gaikwar, and left the two Maratha Chiefs without any powerful allies. Thus, the British had half-won the war before it actually

¹⁰. *Ibid*, p. 128.

¹¹. *Ibid*, p. 158

¹². *Ibid*, p. 87.

broke out. As against these, the Maratha Chiefs practically did nothing to counteract the vicious diplomatic operations against them. They could not even set their own house in order, or secure the allegiance of their own kith and kin. So it is no wonder that they could hardly make a successful stand against the British.

Preparation for Conquest of Orissa.

Now, we should turn our attention to Orissa which, being a part of the dominion of Phonsla, was necessarily involved in the Second Maratha War.

The Command of the principal Division of troops intended for Orissa expedition was entrusted to Lieutenant Colonel Campbell of His Majesty's 74th Regiment, Commanding Northern Division of the army of Fort St. George. He was ordered "to collect a force of 1500 natives at Ganjam and to augment it as much as the tranquillity of Northern Sarcars would permit. A corps composed of two Companies of His Majesty's 22nd Regiment of foot and 600 men from the 26th Bengal Regiment with artillery, was sent by sea from Bengal to Ganjam, to reinforce Colonel Campbell". Captain Blunt, an experienced officer, who had local knowledge about Orissa, accompanied the detachment. The United forces under Campbell consisted of 565 Europeans and 2200 sepoys and a party of native cavalry consisting of 50 men¹³.

Lt. Col. Campbell was instructed to, (i) to conciliate the inhabitants, (ii) to grant protection to those inhabitants who had not taken up arms against the British and to the pilgrims to Jagannath, (iii) use all precautions for maintaining the respect due to the pagodas, (iv) to grant protection to the Brahmins, and (v) not to capture the property of pagoda, Brahmin or offices of the religious institutions.

Governor General further instructed him to communicate with the Zamindars of Cuttack and adjacent territories 'some of whom had made themselves independent of the Marathas and only obeyed it partially'. Colonel Campbell was ordered 'to require the submission to the British Government of the revolted Zamindars, and to treat with the independent or tributary Chiefs who might have it in their power to clog his operations by flattering their interests without requiring their absolute submission to the British authority¹⁴. Col. Campbell was also authorised to open negotiation with the administration of Cuttack, x x x with a view to effect peaceable transfer of the province to the British authority, on condition that they should receive a permanent pension or a sum of money from the British Government.

Attempts for Seduction of Maratha Officers and Soldiers

"The Governor General consequently addressed letters to two individuals who exercised the first authority at Cuttack, and ordered Lieutenant Colonel, Campbell and Mr. Melvill to forward these letters to their addressees, and to open a negotiation with persons to whom they were addressed; they were authorised to offer to each of the principal Maratha officers a sum of money, nevertheless, not exceeding two lacs of rupees. Similar negotiations were also to be set on foot with all those whose situation and influence held out the means

13. *Ibid*, pp. 218-19.

14. *Ibid*, p. 222.

of facilitating the peaceful occupation of the Province of Cuttack by the British troops. Duplicate and triplicate were transmitted of letters destined for administrators of Cuttack, to the officers commanding the expedition against Balasore, and the troops which advanced from the side of Jallasore, and to transmit the answer to the officer commanding the division on its march coming from Ganjam."¹⁵

This clearly shows that attempts were made to win over the Maratha administrators by offer by bribe. The Principal Maratha officer to whom letters were written were probably Banuji Pandit, Naib of Cuttack, Mora Pandit, Foujdar of Balasore, Diwan Haribansa Ray and Bakshi Balaji Kunar.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that in consideration of "the extent and activity of the armaments and military operations directed against Cuttack, the little hope remaining to the officers of the Berar Government of a fortunate resistance to the British arms, and the character of these officers and the Maratha Government"¹⁷ the Governor General thought it proper to authorise Lt. Col. Campbell and Mr. Melvill to open up negotiation with the officers of the Maratha Government of Cuttack, who, the Governor General confidently expected, would take up the bait in view of helplessness of the situation and also under the influence of the demoralised condition, then prevailing in Orissa administration.

The above remarks of the Governor General throw some light on the conditions prevailing in Orissa on the eve of British conquests. The British authorities were quite aware of the facts that the Maratha organisation in Orissa was but too weak to offer successful resistance to the British forces, morale of the officers of the Maratha Government was not of such high order as to place the interests of the Government above their selfish interests. So they took full advantage of the situation.

Thus, while attempts were made to win over the officers of the Maratha Government in Orissa, steps were taken to impair the strength and efficiency of Maratha forces in Orissa. "With a view of distressing the enemy and at the same time obtaining services of a body of men who may be employed with advantage with the protection of the country against the marauders and for other purposes"¹⁸ Captain Morgan was authorised to raise a battalion from among the Afgan and Mughal troops serving in the Maratha army in Orissa.

Steps for Administrative Arrangements :

While taking all possible steps for ensuring easy victory in the Orissan campaign, the British authorities were not unmindful of the administrative arrangements to be made along with conquest. So Mr. Melvill was appointed as Civil Commissioner. His first duty was, "the progressive organisation of the Revenue of Cuttack x x x." He was also ordered "to organise the conquered countries in concert with the persons, he might find actually charged with the administration of the country." He was also directed to make arrangements for introduction of "the system of British laws and regulations into Cuttack", to apprise the inhabitants that the British Government intended to admit them to all the advantages of its laws and to show the different

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-23.

16. *JKHRS.*, Vol. I, p. 379.

17. *History of the transactions of the British Government in India*, p. 222.

18. *JKHRS.*, Vol. I, p. 379.

benefits which would accrue to them by the introduction of so just and mild a system of Government." He was also instructed to "stop at a moderate taxation, so as to attach the parties to the British Government. He was also to convince the Rajas and Chiefs of the stability of new arrangements. Mr. Melvill was further asked to procure all information regarding the temple at Jagernaut."¹⁹

The facts stated above show beyond doubt that before the war actually broke out to British were cock-sure about the conquest of Orissa; consequently they had made elaborate arrangements for conquest and, side by side, the organisation of its administration. In view of these, the easy victory of the British in Orissa would not appear surprising.

Conquest of Orissa : --

In consequence of serious illness of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, Governor General sent Lt. Colonel Harcourt, his Military Secretary, to Ganjam to take the command. Lt. Col. Harcourt took over command of the troops at Ganjam on 11th March, 1803.

Besides the troops assembled at Ganjam, another detachment of five hundred Bengal Native Volunteers with some additional battering guns was sent to Ganjam under Captain Dick to reinforce the troops there. Another detachment of five hundred Native Volunteers with a proportion of artillery, four field pieces, and a proportion of stores was sent under Captain Morgan on 13th September, 1803 to occupy Balasore. Another detachment consisting of 770 sepoy and 84 men of Governor General's body guard with two galloper guns was formed at Jalesore under Lt. Colonel Fergusson for purpose of advancing into the Province of Cuttack and forming a junction with the detachment at Balasore, when the state of the intermediate Country and the progress of the division under Lt. Col. Harcourt should favour that movement.²⁰

The officer commanding the post Midnapore was ordered 'to reinforce the station on the frontiers of Jalesore with three companies of sepoy' and 'to send a whole battalion of sepoy and artillery to Jalesore.'²¹ Captain P. Grant, an officer of the Bengal Establishment was ordered to accompany Capt. Morgan 'to assist him by his local information in the province of Cuttack, and particularly in the city and environs of Balasore.'²²

Thus arrangements for attacking from three sides were completed. The main army was to start from Ganjam under Lt. Col. Harcourt, while Lt. Col. Fergusson was to proceed from Jalesore towards Cuttack. Captain Morgan was to proceed to Balasore by sea and occupy the town and the army under his command was to form a junction with that proceeding from Jalesore under Lt. Col. Fergusson. After Fergusson's march to Cuttack, Captain Morgan was to stay back at Balasore to consolidate the position and safe-guard the passage of the army under Fergusson from any attack from behind. Col. Fenwick, in charge of the troops at Midnapore, was ordered 'to occupy the Maratha Districts north-east of the river Sooburnreeka and the

19. *History of the transaction of the British Government in India* (HTBGI) p. 221.

20. *Notes relative to the late transactions in the Maratha Country*, (NTME), pp. 78-79.

21. *H. T. B. G. I.*, p. 227.

22. *Ibid*, p. 226.

Maratha territory inter mixed with the British possessions in the province of Midnapore"²³. So all eventualities were taken into serious considerations of the authorities before the expeditions actually started and all possible steps were taken for safe and successful operations. 'The total number of troops assembled for invasion of the province of Cuttack therefore amounted to 4916 men, as per list below'²⁴. Besides, 1300 sepoy were stationed at Midnapore as a reserve.

European infantry—	573
Native Infantry —	2403
Native Cavalry —	60
	3041
With Capt. Dick ...	509
With Capt. Morgan ...	521
With Lt. Col. Ferguson	
Sepoy ...	770
Cavalry ...	84
	4916

Out-break of Hostilities :

Troops under Col. Campbell started for Ganjam on the 8th September, 1803 A. D. Lt. Col. Harcourt took over the charge on the 11th September. Manikpatan was occupied without any resistance. From thre Harcourt sent a message to the priests of the Jagannath temple offering them British protection. On the 16th September he received a favourable reply and immediately proceeded to Puri which was occupied on the 18th September without any resistance. On the 24th September the British troops proceeded towards Cuttack which they reached on the 10th October. On the way 'the advanced troops of Col. Harcourt's division were frequently engaged with parties of the enemy's troops, who were always repulsed with loss'²⁵.

¶ Fall of the Fort, Barbaty : —

According to Harcourt's report to the Governor General of the date 1 th October, 1803²⁶ a 12 pounder battery together with two howitzers and 2 6—pounders was set up at a distance of 500 yds. from the outer gate of the fort on the 13th September. Bombardment was started on the morning of the 14th September. By 11 O' clock the southern part of the fort was gone and enemy's guns silenced. There upon Lt. Col. Clayton was ordered to advance with one 6—pounder and a party of artillery-men, 200 Europeans and the party had to pass over a narrow 400 Sepoyes bridge and were subjected to heavy fire. At last the gate was forced open and the party had to enter singly in the face of considerable resistance. They also succeeded in forcing the way through the other two gates, thus, the fort was captured.

There is a brief description of the fort of Barabati in the report. According to it, 'The fort of Barabatty is of considerable strength, and, with

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 238-29.

24. *N. T. M. E.*, p. 80.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

26. *Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 96-98.

the exception only of the bridge over which our party passed, is inaccessible, as it is surrounded by a ditch from 35 to 135 feet broad, and twenty feet depth of water in it'.

During the operation 2 European and 3 Indian soldiers were killed, and 16 Europeans and 13 Indian soldiers were wounded. Loss of the Maratha soldiers inside the fort was considerable, many were also drowned in the ditch while attempting to escape.

Occupation of Balasore :

The detachment under Capt. Morgan landed at Balasore on the 21st September. The details of the operation at Balasore are given in the letter of Capt. Morgan to Capt. Armstrong, the Military Secretary to the Governor General of the date 22nd September, 1803.²⁷ The troops, arms and ammunitions under the command of Capt. Morgan were transported in 7 vessels, Alexander, Anne, George, Fairlie Lizard and Scourge, the gun-boat. Besides there were two long boats. The bar near the mouth of the Budhabalang river prevented them from sailing up the river. On the 18th September, 1803, attempts were made to explore the bar and to secure the assistance of some native pilots, but to no effect. On the 20th September, the vessels, Scourge, George, Charles and Fairlie crossed the bar, entered the river and anchored opposite Balaramghari²⁸ where there was a post of the Marathas. The Maratha soldiers at Balaramghari post, instead of offering resistance to the enemy, fled towards Balasore.

The inhabitants of the villages nearby helped the British and 'put on board each a native pilot to conduct them up the rivers'. Very little progress was made owing to heavy rains. Next morning, 21st September, 1803, the vessels started sailing up the river, but the progress was very slow. Capt. Morgan, with full concurrence of Capt. Peter Grant, decided to leave the vessels and proceed up the river with two 6-pounders and as many men as the boats could hold. This decision was taken on account of the rumours that Maratha reinforcement was being sent to Balasore.

After two hours' exertion, Capt. Morgan with 300 soldiers reached a place about 4 miles from Balasore. Then the party proceeded towards the town. At the entrance of the town they found Maratha Cavalry and infantry waiting to welcome them. On their approach, the Marathas began firing on them, but a flanking party detached by Capt. Morgan outsted the Marathas from their first position. But they continued to fire from house-tops, entrance of lanes and from behind the walls and heights. Despite the resistance, they moved on until they reached the Factory House. During the night of 21st September the Marathas evacuated the Fort of Balasore which was taken possession of in the morning next day.

As already noted before, More (Merar) Pandit, the Maratha foudjar of Balasore was actually written to by Capt. Morgan, but though he wished to help the English, he could not. He was put in confinement by Nana, the commander of the Maratha Soldiers in Balasore.

27. *Ibid*, Appendix, pp, 133 ff.

28. A small village near the mouth of the Budhabalang

Soro Captured.

On the 30th Capt. Morgan sent Lt. Slye to attack the Marathas at Soro which was taken possession of on the 3rd October without any resistance.

Col. Fergusson's army reached Balasore, on the 4th October and then proceeded towards Cuttack. He met with no opposition.

Subsequent Events.

After capture of Barbaty the Maratha troops retreated precipitately towards their country. Col. Harcourt sent some troops under Major Forbees of Madras establishments to Badamul pass through which passed the road from Orissa to Nagpur. Major Forbees reached Badmul on the 2nd November, 1803. But he could not intercept the Marathas who escaped across the mountains before the arrival of the detachment under Major Forbees²⁹.

Subjugation of the Rajas of Kanika, Kujang and Harispur.

After occupation of the then principal towns of Orissa, Puri, Cuttack and Balasore, Col. Harcourt turned his attention to subjugation of the Rajas of Kanika and Kujang who were suspected of carrying on some designs against the British. So Harcourt marched against them. The Raja of Kujang fled away at the approach of the British troops. His elder brother who kept confined by the Raja in Paradip was set up on the throne. All fortifications were dismantled. The fugitive Raja was shortly captured and kept confined in the Barabaty Fort. Next, the Rajas of Kanika and Harishpur were also reduced³⁰.

Engagements with the Rajas and Zamindars of Orissa :

After reduction of the Fort of Barabaty Governor General appointed a Commission composed of Lt. Col. Harcourt, Mr. Mevill and Mr. Earnest, the Magistrate of Midnapore for organisation of the province of Cuttack. They were ordered to direct their attention, particularly, to the means of establishing an alliance with the rajahs in the province of Cuttack and its environs, previously tributaries of the rajah of Berar x x x x."

Accordingly engagements were concluded with the Rajahs of Khurda, Mayurbhanj, Angul, Hindol, Daspalla etc. According to the terms of these agreements, the Rajas acknowledged the British authority, promised to pay the stipulated tribute (fixed quit-rent) and assist the Company with troops if necessary. Besides, arrangements were made for the safety of the police and revenue of the Company's contiguous possession. The British Government, in return, engaged never to demand an increase of revenue or additional pecuniary demand.³¹ Similar engagements were made with other Zamindars. *Sanads* were granted to the Zamindars of Darpan, Sukinda and Madhupur' entitling them to hold their estates at a fixed *Jumma* in perpetuity.

29. According to Tyonbee the Marathas offered some resistance but were defeated (Tyonbee, *History of Orissa* Page—6); HTBGL, pp. 229-30. }

30. Tyonbee, *History of Orissa*, pp. 5-6

31. *NTME*, pp. 233-34.

Settlement of the land revenue with the Zamindars of Ali, Kujang Puttra (Patia ?) Harishpur, Marichpore, Bishnupore and Kanika fixing the annual quit-rent in perpetuity was also made³². Thus, the British conquest of Orissa proper was completed and British authority was established.

Affairs of the Rajas of Sambalpur, Patna etc :

Next we may turn our attention to the Tributary Chiefs of Sonapur, Baud, Sambalpur and Patna etc. Soon after Major Forbes's arrival at Badmul, agents from Raja of Baud and Sonapur met him and offered to submit to the British Authority. Major Forbes referred these cases to Col. Harcourt who accordingly wrote letters to the Rajas of Sambalpur, Sonapur and Baud offering them British protection and friendship, in token of which they were annually to pay 5 Gold Mohurs only. He promised, "The Hon'ble Company will not require any Peeshcush or other consideration for their friendship or protection. Agreements with the Rajas of Sambalpur, Sonapur and Baud were ultimately executed on the 13th December 1803 in the following form.

Agreement:

We, Lt.-Col. George Harcourt Bahadur, Commanding the British Troops in and Commissioner for the affairs of the Province of Anderi, and Mr. John Melville, Commissioner for the affairs of the said Subah, having been appointed Commissioners for the arrangement of the affairs of this Subah by his Excellency the Governor-General, enter into an agreement with the..... Raja of....., in the name of the Company according to the following articles : —

1st.-- We engage to receive five Gold Mohurs annually as wish of courtesy.

2nd.--It is well known that the Hon'ble Company be friend and support upon all occasions those Princes that form an alliance with them and that those who are in friendship with them remain suitable returns. If the said Raja will continue on his part to maintain the friendship required of him, nothing shall be wanting on the part of Hon'ble Company to repay such friendship in the most minute also."³³

The treaty of Peace was concluded between the East India Company and the Raja of Berar on 17th December, 1803 according to the 2nd Article of which Bhonsla ceded to the "honourable company and their allies, in-perpetual sovereignty, the, province of Cuttack, including the port and district of Balasore,"

So the States of Sambalpur Patna Boud, Sonapur etc. which were not included in Orissa remained under the Maratha control. But according to the 10th article, "certain treaties have been made by the British Government with the fendatorees of Senah Sahab Souba. These treaties are to be confirmed.

It may be noted that Major Brougton had in the mean time conquered Sambalpur and Sonapur on 3rd January, 1804 before the news of the Treaty

32, Toynbee, *History of Orissa*, Appendix, pp. cex-cexi

33. *Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records (SNRR.,)* Vol. I, pp. 35—36.

reached Orissa³⁴. So according to the terms of the Treaty of Deogaon the Chiefs of Sambalpur, Sonepur and Baud, Raigarh, Sarngarh, Redhakhol, Gangpur, Bamia, Bonai, Sakti, and Bargarh etc. who had already accepted the British offer of protection and friendship were not to be sent back to the control of the Raja of Berar. On the 3rd March, 1804 the above chiefs made a petition³⁵ for British protection strongly resenting their transfer to Maratha control.

Accordingly the Secretary to the Government, Fort Willam, sent a letter to the Resident at Nagpur requesting him to discuss the matter with regard to the Chiefs of Sambalpur, Patna, Sonepur etc. with Raja of Berar and place before him the Governor-General's decision in this connection. Since the engagements had been concluded with those chiefs it was obligatory on the part of the British Government to maintain their public faith. In view of this handing over those chiefs without their express and voluntary demand to the control of the Marhatta Government would tantamount to a breach of public faith. So the Governor General proposed that they may be allowed to remain under the British Control, and the British Government would guarantee to the Raja of Berar, "The annual receipts of the full amount of Revenue or Tribute which he derived from the Chieftains and territories in question, but even to compensate by any practicable means for this unavoidable reduction of the extent of his dominations". So the Governor General proposed the following details to be settled with the Raja of Berar.

i. That those persons be exempted from the exercise of any authority whatever on the part of the Raja of Berar or of the British Government.

ii. That with the exception of those persons who by the terms of their engagements have been exempted from the payment of tribute to the British Government the remaining persons of the description stated in the preceding part of this paragraph, hereafter pay to the British Government the amount of the Revenue or tribute which they formerly paid to the Government of Berar.

iii. That the aggregate amount of the revenue or tribute which previously to the War, the Raja of Berar derived from the territories described in the preceding part of this paragraph be paid annually by the British Government to such person as the Raja of Berar shall appoint to receive it, either within the limits of the British possessions, or by the British Resident at Nagpur.

iv. That in the event of a failure in the payment of their stipulated tribute, on the part of those persons from whom tribute or revenue is demandable or in the event of any conduct on the part of any of those persons in question of a nature injurious to the interest of the Raja of Berar or inconsistent with the spirit and intent of this arrangement, the British Govt. shall withdraw its protection from the person so acting."³⁶

The Governor General suggested to compensate the Raja of Berar for the loss of revenue and also for the loss of his authority, if it could be possible.

34. *SNRR*, Vol. I p. 38.

35. *Ibid.* pp. 57-58.

36. *Ibid.* pp.42-45

It appears from the letter of the Secretary to the Government to the Resident of Nagpur dated 18th May, 1804 that the Raja of Berar did not consent to the proposal of the Governor General. So the Resident of Nagpur was authorised to state to the Raja in the name of Governor General that "His Excellency has learned with surprise and concern the Raja's prevarication and flagrant violation of public faith, that Peace was granted to him as a boon, and that His Excellency is determined to renew the War if the Raja does not fulfill the conditions of the Treaty by signing the list of engagements within 24 hours after he shall receive the requisition which you are now instructed to make."³⁷

With the appointment of Cornwallis as Governor General in India, a new policy of peace was initiated in place of the 'forward' policy of Lord Wellesley. This change in the policy was reflected on the Sambalpur affairs as would be evident from the letter of Mr. Edmonston, Secretary to the Government dated the 12th September, 1805³⁸ to Captain Roughsedge wherein he writes, 'It is unnecessary to explain to you the considerations which render the Governor General extremely anxious to have it in his power to restore these possessions', evidently to the Raja of Berar. To be relieved of their obligations to the Chief with whom engagements had been executed, the Governor General proposed that such chiefs would be compensated by grants of money, or lands under the British, if they would like to leave their possessions under the Marathas. Even if they would not, the Governor General would compensate them 'for the deterioration of their condition by the transfer of the provinces of Sambalpur and Patna to the authority of the Raja of Berar, x x.' So, Captain Roughsedge was directed to open up negotiation with the Chiefs concerned on the above principles.

Capt. Roughsedge, in his reply dated the 17th September, 1805³⁹, stated that it would be difficult to persuade the Chiefs of Sambalpur and Patna either to go back to the Maratha control, or leave the possessions for the lands to be assigned to them elsewhere under the British possessions. He however proposed that the Chiefs of Patna might be assigned lands in Khurda, while those of Sambalpur in Chotanagpur. He put forth many allegations against the conduct, and attitude towards the British of the Raja of Chotanagpur, on account of which the Raja merited deposition.

On receipt of the above letter of Roughsedge, Government probably gave due consideration to the proposal of assignment of lands for the Chiefs of Patna and Sambalpur in Khurda. Because, the Dy. Secretary to the Government, Revenue Board, addressing a letter to the President of the Board of Revenue on the 12th November,⁴⁰ 1805 states, 'The Hon'ble the Governor General having in contemplation an arrangement which will include the assignment of a considerable portion of land, in Jagir, to certain Chieftains and Zemindars of the Province of Sambalpur and Patna, who have been rendered dependant on the British Government by the operation of the Treaty of Peace concluded with the Rajah of Berar on the 17th of December 1803, I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to desire that you will ascertain and report with the least practicable delay, in what quarter of the Company's Dominions such assignments of lands may be most conveniently effected.

37. *Ibid*, p. 60.

38. *S.N.R.R.* Vol. I, pp. 66—68.

39. *Ibid*, pp. 68—71.

40. *Ms. Records*, Vol. 4, receipt No. II, O.S. ARCHIVES.

2. The Vice President in Council is unable at the present moment to state the precise amount of the value of the land, which will be required for the proposed assignment; but he desires that you will submit a statement of the quantity of land which may be at the disposal of Government in such parts of the British Territories as may be best adopted for the purpose in view together with as accurate an amount as may be procurable of the value of such lands.

3. It appears to be probable that disposable Territory in the Province of Cuttack including the forfeited lands in the District of Khoorda may be of sufficient extent to admit of the assignment of the requisite number of Jaggeers within the limits of that Province, and the Vice President in Council accordingly desires to call your attention to this point, and to desire that you will furnish, as soon as may be practicable, a particular statement of the Extent and value of the disposable Territory in that quarter".

Roughsedge in his letter dated the 19th Jan. 1806 to the Secretary to the Government informed that the Rance of Sambalpur had agreed to the proposal³⁸. Again on the 23rd February 1806, Roughsedge Communicated the information that he had discussion with the Raja of Patna and the Chiefs under him, and also the Rajas of Fuljhar and Khariar from whom he received "a written declaration of their respectful acquiescence in the principle of the arranged desire by Government on the assurance of an adequate provision for themselves and families in the British territory and of the fulfilment of my engagements to accompany and in them fixed in several situations to be assigned to them⁴¹."

Probably on receipt this information arrangements for assignment of lands to the Chiefs of Sambalpur and Patna in Khurda were expedited as appears from the letter of the Secretary to the Government to Thomas Graham, President, Board of Revenue, of the date, 20th March, 1806⁴². The Secretary writes—"I am directed to transmit to you the Enclosed statement of Persons to whom it is proposed, if practicable, to assign a provision from the Lands in Khoorda, which may be at the disposal of Government; and to desire, that you will instruct the Collector of Cuttack to proceed without delay to select lands in Khoordah of the value stated in the Enclosed Document for the purpose of being appropriated in the manner above stated.

The Governor General in Council desires, that you will instruct the Collector to appointing Captain Roughsedge in Sambalpur of the selection of lands which he may make under the foregoing instructions at as early a period as may be practicable."

41. S. N. R. R. Vol. I, pp. 71 73.

42. Ibid, pp. 73 74.

43. Ms. Volume Op. Cit.

**“Amount of Annual Provision proposed to be assigned to the
undermentioned Zameendars,**

Zemindar	Zemindary	Amount annual provision Sicca Rupees.
Ranee Ruttan Coher	Sumbhulpore Khass	12,000
Rajah Joujar Sing	Ry-Ghur	8,000
Baboo Rogonat Sing	Sonepore	8,000
Rajah Inder Sieier	Gangpore	4,000
Rajah Bissnat Sahy	Saringhur	5,500
Rajah Trebohun Deo	Bambra	3,600
Rajah Inder Deo	Bonee	2,400
Secor Adjeet Sing	Burgur	2,400
Dewan Deeb Sing	Suctee	2,400
Berbredda Jemma	Seracole	2,400
Choota Ranee	Sumbulpore Khass	3,000
	Total Sicca Rupees Zemindary	53,700
Zemindar	PATNA	Amount annual provision Sicca Rupees.
1. Rjah Rachunder Deo	Patna Khass	8,000
2. Rjah Pertab Rudder	Kherier & Nowagur	6,000
3. Rajah Pertee Sing	Loolgur	2,400
	Total in Sumbulpore & Patna	70,000”

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To be Continued

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GAGANAŚIVĀCHĀRYA AND THE DATE OF THE MONUMENTS AT RĀNIPUR JHARIĀL

By Sri K. N. Mahapatra.

The name of Gaganaśivāchārya, a famous Śaiva ascetic is known from his inscription in the old Someśvara temple at Rānipur-Jhariāl in the Titlagarh subdivision of the Balangirpatna district. This inscription has been deciphered and published by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, who has identified this Gaganaśivāchārya, with Vyomaśiva, whose inscription is found at Narod or Ranod.¹ Dr. Chhabra writes as follows regarding this identification.

“Now, considering that Vyomaśiva, so far as the meaning of this word is concerned, is the same as Gaganaśiva, one feels suspicious whether the two names refer to one and the same person. And this suspicion is heightened by the fact that Vyomaśiva is variously mentioned in the Ranod inscription by such equivalent appellation as Gaganeśa (V. 39) Vyomaśambhu (V. 14), Vyomeśa (V. 40) and Gaganaśaśimauli (V. 65). The same is to be found in the case of certain other sages. Thus, for example, Hṛdayeśa of the Ranod inscription is called Hṛdayaśiva in the Bilhari inscription. It is clear from this that with regard to the names of the Mattamayūra sages, it was the sense of the word and not the word itself that mattered, so that any synonymous term could be substituted for a personal name, be it though to conform to metrical requirements. In view of these considerations, one would naturally conclude that Vyomaśiva and Gaganaśiva are, in all probability, but two different names of one and the same person. This conclusion is favoured also by the likelihood of Terāmbi being identified with Uttara-Terambagrha. There is yet another point which would lend support to the identification of Vyomaśiva with Gaganaśiva, and that is the name Rānipadra. Has this name

1. Same inscription from Narod (Nareda) by Prof. Keilhorn, *E. J.* Vol. I, pp. 361-361.

any thing to do with Rānipur-Jhariāl? Referring to the deserted temples at this latter place, Mr. Beglar points out that they are traditionally ascribed to a Rāni, but her name has been forgotten. But one may as well ask can it not be that we have a replica of Rānipadra itself in Rānipur-Jhariāl, with its name, tank, temples and all, owing their origin to one and the same personage, viz., Vyomaśiva or Gaganaśiva?²

This identification suggested by Dr. Chhabra is quite plausible and convincing and the points raised by him in this connection can each be substantiated by facts, elicited from other sources.

In the Someśvara temple inscription Gaganaśiva is called

‘उत्तर तेरम्बगूहविनिर्गत गगनशिवाभिधान सिद्धाचार्य’

the Achārya or Siddhāchārya named Gaganaśiva, an immigrant from the glorious ‘Uttara Terembagrha’. The qualifying epithet ‘Uttara’ indicates that this place was to the north of Rānipur Jhariāl. ‘Teramba’ may be identified with Terehi in the Ex State of Gwalior now merged in the Madhyabhārat Union. From the description of the place as quoted below it will be evident that this place was a famous centre of Saivism in the mediaeval period.

“Village Terehi is five miles north-east of Kadwaha or eight miles south-east of Ranod by cart-track and may be visited from either of the places. It was a centre of Saivism in the mediaeval times and possesses the ruins of a few temples and a Hindu monastery of that age. An old Sanskrit inscription at Ranod gives its old name as Terambi of which Terahi, the modern name is a corruption. The most interesting part of the monument to be seen here is the torana gateway of an eleventh century temple. The temple is now a mere wreckage but the archway is almost in perfect preservation. x x x In the compound of the temple is lying an inscribed memorial pillar of x x V. S. 960 or A. C. 903. Two other memorial pillars x x x x x (circa 7th century A. C.) stand just outside the compound. The monastery is now enclosed in the ruins of a modern gadhi or fort in the village³. The existence of two memorial pillars of the seventh century A. D. clearly shows that this place had gained importance at least from that period. From the Ranod stone inscription, it is known that the first and third Śaiva Achāryas were known as ‘Kadambaguhādhivāsi’ (the inhabitant of Kadambaguhā) and Terambipāla (the protector of Terambi) respectively. This Kadambaguhā is identified with Kadawaha in the same ex-State of Gwalior which is only five miles of Terehi. “Kadwaha possesses the remains of a Hindu monastery and not less than fourteen Brahmanical temples, all belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries A. C. Such a large group of old temples is found at no other single place in Gwalior State. Kadwaha thus deserves to be styled the Khajuraho or Bhuvanavar of Gwalior⁴. The third ascetic, who calls himself ‘The protector of Terambi’ lived six generations before Vyomaśiva, which will be evident from the genealogy of the Śaiva Achāryas, given in the Ranod inscription as shown here-after. Thus Terahi (Terambi or Teramba of the olden days) wherefrom Gaganaśiva emigrated to Rānipur Jhariāl, was an important centre of Saivism at least one hundred years before his days, where

2. *Rānipur Jhariāl Inscriptions B. I.*, Vol. XXIV, pp 239-245

3. *Gaude, Archaeology in Gwalior* by pp. 128-129.

4. *Ibid* p. 95

the third ascetic of his line called Terambipāla flourished. So it can be safely concluded, that Gaganāśivāchārya, whose inscription is found in the Someśvara temple at Rānipur-Jhariāl hailed from Teremba, which is modern Terehi located above.

The second point which requires some elucidation is the relation between Rānipadra and Rānipur-Jhariāl. The description of a place called Rānipadra is found at three places in the Ranod inscription, while describing the achievements of Purandara, Sadāśiva and Vyomaśiva the fifth, seventh and ninth ascetics respectively of this line e. g.

पुनर्द्वितीयं स्वयमद्वितीयोगुणैर्मुनीन्द्रो रणिपद्र संज्ञम्
तपोवनं श्रेष्ठमठं विधाय प्रष्टः प्रतिष्ठां परमां निनाय
(Verse 15)

सदाशिव स्तस्य च शिष्य आसीत् सदाशिवः सर्वजनस्य शान्त्या
तपोवनं यो रणिपद्रनाम प्रसाधयामास तपः समूह्या
(Verse 17)

ये नेदं पुरमापदन्धतमसे मग्नं नियोगाद्विधेः
सत्कीर्त्या रणिपद्र संज्ञमचिरादुद्धृत्य यत्याश्रमं
भूपृष्ठं शशिनेव निर्मलतरस्फारस्फुरत्तेजसा
सर्वानन्द्युदयेन पौर सहितं नीतः पुनस्ताः श्रियं
(Verse 32)

Village names ending with the word Padra (Sanskrit Padra) are very common in the Sambalpur tract of Orissa, but are scarcely to be found in the Gwalior area, wherefrom this inscription has been found. So it can safely be assumed that the place 'Rānipadra' mentioned thrice in the inscription might better refer to Rānipur, the original name of which was Rānipadra.

If the activities of the Golakī Maṭha of the Dāhala country and the achievements of its head Viśveśvara Śambhu are found described in the Malkapuram pillar inscription of the Andhra country, there can be no wonder that the description of the Maṭha at Rānipadra (Rānipur) is found in the inscriptions of the Gwalior region. In that case there can be no valid objection if Rānipadra of the inscription is identified with Rānipur, which was also a centre of activity of this sect.

Date of Vyomaśiva or Gaganāśiva

As regards the date of Gaganāśivāchārya, no information is obtained from the two inscriptions at Ranod and Rānipur-Jhariāl as they are not dated. The inscription at Ranod was assigned on palaeographical grounds to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. by Dr. Keilhorn. According to Dr. Chhabra, the characters of the inscription at Rānipur-Jhariāl belong to the northern script of about the 10th or 11th century A. D. But the date of Gaganāśiva may be pushed by some years with the evidence elicited from literary sources. Prof. Dasaratha Sarma, who has discussed about Vyomaśiva and his work Vyomavati writes about his date as follows.

“Gūṇaratna and Rājasekhara mention Vyomaśiva as the writer of *Vyomavati* or *Vyomamati*, a commentary on *Prasastapāda's Bhāṣya*. According to Vardhamāna, he was anterior to Udayana, the writer of *Kiraṇāvali* who flourished about 934 A. D.⁵ Prof Sh rma has inferred that Vyomaśiva of the Ranod inscription wrote a commentary on *Prasasthapāda's bhāṣya* and has quoted five verses from this to prove this point. But the verse 23 of the same inscription, where the composition of some work bearing his name e. g. ‘व्योम पदादि मन्त्ररचना’ has been alluded to has perhaps escaped his attention. So it is quoted by me below.

श्लाघ्यं जन्म जगत्रयोपि दधतः शेषस्य तस्य क्षमा

मस्य व्योमपदादि मन्त्र रचना ख्याताभिधानस्य च

Another verse quoted by Mm. V. V. Mirashi from the Gwalior Museum inscription clearly proves the fact of composition of a commentary by Vyomaśambhu of the Ranod inscription :

मुनिसूर्येण निरस्तं टीकालोकेन लोकस्य

प्रकटयते ह पदार्थं सन्तमसच्चसन्तमसम्

He (Vyomaśambhu) by his commentary, expounded the true nature of the real padārtha (a category of the Vaiśeṣika system and also the unreal gross ignorance, even as the sun by his light reveals the existing objects and dispels pitchy darkness⁶. Thus it is proved that Vyomaśiva of the Ranod inscription was the author of a commentary named *Vyomavati*, on *Prasastapāda's bhāṣya* on the Vaiśeṣika system.

As this commentary has been mentioned by Gūṇaratna, Rājasekhara and Udayana, Vyomaśiva becomes anterior to them by some years. Gūṇaratna was a Jaina scholar⁷ whose date is not definitely known. Udayana flourished in the second half of the tenth century, so Vyomaśiva who is mentioned by him may be placed before 950 A. D. But this date for Vyomaśiva may be pushed back by half a century, if the date of Rājasekhara is taken into consideration. According to the editors of *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, its author Rājasekhara lived about 880-920 A. D.⁸ So Vyomaśiva who lived before Rājasekhara may be assigned to a period from 830-880 A. D. Thus the posterior limit for Vyomaśiva may be fixed at 850 A. D. or at 900 A. D. if both of them are taken to be contemporary. The anterior limit can be fixed with the help of verse 37 of the Ranod inscription where he is compared to the great Śaṅkara.

‘सर्वज्ञः स्फुटमेव कोपि भगवानन्यः क्षितौ शङ्करः’

He being regarded as another Śaṅkara must have flourished after Śaṅkara, whose death at 820 A. D. is generally accepted by the scholars. Thus Vyomaśiva who lived after Śaṅkaraāchārya (788-820 A. D.) and prior to Rājasekhara (880-920 A. D.) may definitely be placed in the middle of the ninth century.

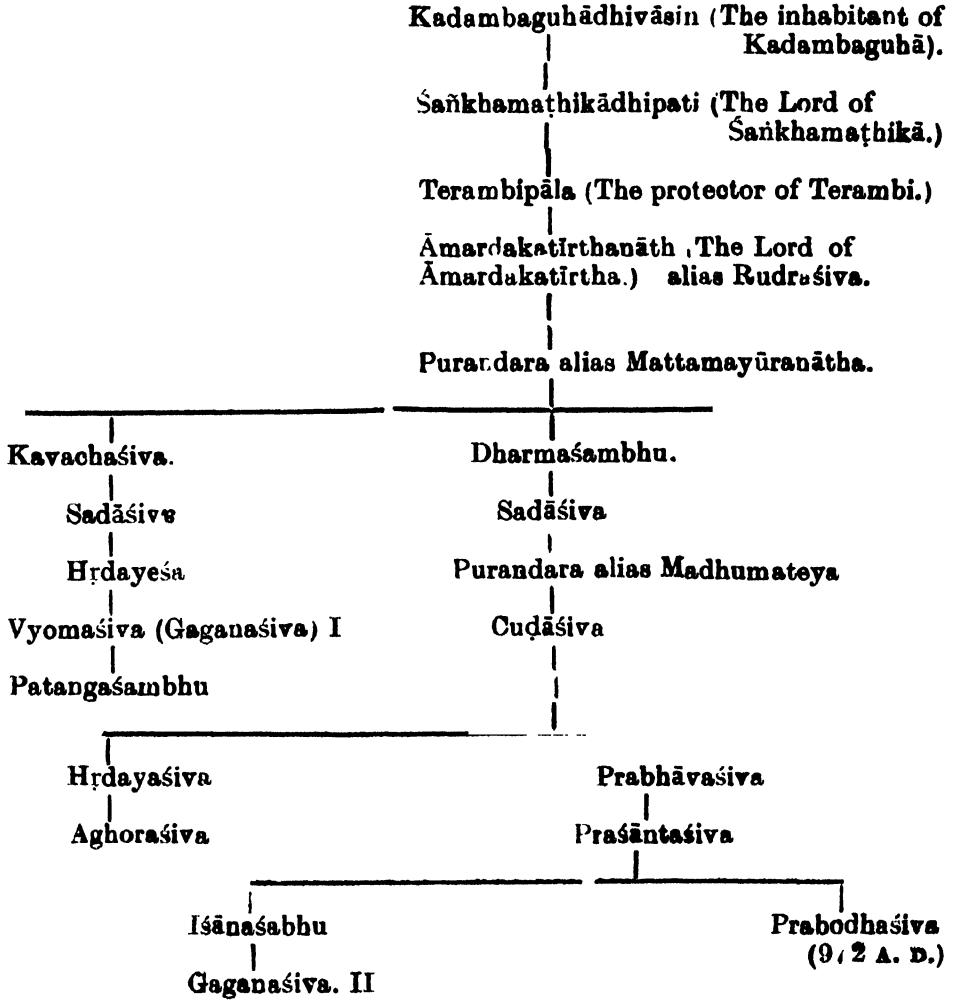
5. I. H. Q., Vol. X, 1924, p. 165.

6. The Saiva Acharyas of the Mattamayura clan, I. H. Q.; Vol. XXVI, No. 1, p. 16.

7. History of Indian Literature, Vol. II by Winternitz, p. 583 n.

8. Kāvyamīmāṃsā, Gaikwad's Oriental Series, No. 1, Introduction, p. XXXI.

This date fixed for Vyomaśiva or Gaganasīva may be verified with the help of the genealogy of the Śaiva Āchāryas of the Mattamayūra clan prepared by Mm. V. V. Mirashi.⁹ This is noted below to which I add the name of another Gaganasīva, who was the disciple of Isānaśambhu of this list.



According to this genealogy Prabodhaśiva whose known date is 912 A. D. lived two generations after Cuḍāśiva, who becomes a contemporary of Vyomaśiva I. So allowing some seventy years for Prabhāśiva Prasantaśiva and Prabodhaśiva, the date 902 A. D. is arrived at for Cuḍāśiva as well as his contemporary Vyomaśiva I. This date may further be verified with the help of the Karhad plates of the Rastra-Kuta king Kṛṣṇa III of Sakasamvat 80 or 958 A. D.¹⁰ which mentions Isānasivāchārya and his disciple—Gaganasīva :

करहाटीय बल्कलेश्वर स्थानपति करंजखेट सन्तति विनिर्गतेमानशिवाचार्य
क्षिप्याय महातपस्विने सकल शिवसिद्धान्त पारगाय गगनशिवायः—

9. *I.H. Q.*, Vol. XXVI, No. I, pp. 1-16.

10. Edited by R. G. Bhandarkar, *M. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 278-290.

The donee Gaganasīva is praised as one versed in all the Śaiva *sūdhāntas*, the pupil of the preceptor Isānaśivāchārya, who is the head of the establishment of Vaikalesvara in Karahata and is an emigrant of Karanjakheta. Karahata has been identified with Karhad in the Junjun Maraj State in Maharashtra. The name of this Gaganasīva is also found in a damaged stone inscription written in old Kannada language. It is found in the Someśvara temple at Barakuru in the South Kanara district¹¹ Isānaśivāchārya of the Karhad plates may be identified with Isānaśambhu of the above list. As this Gaganasīva II of 958 A. D. is posterior to Vyomasīva or Gaganasīva I (contemporary of Cuḍāsīva) by three generations, the latter may safely be placed in the second half of the ninth century.

The monuments at Rānipur-Jharial

It is said that in very ancient times there were about 120 temples, of which only about half the number can now be found. Judged by the importance and antiquity of these monuments, which are mostly in ruins, this place may aptly be called the Bhubanesvar of the Patna-Sambalpur region. A few lines are quoted below from the account of this place left by Mr. Beglar, who visited it in 1874-75.

"The ruins at Rānipur-Jurāl, in the southern portion of the Patna State, close to Temra on the Tong-Nagla, or Tong-Jor are of much greater extent and greater importance than those at Patna; they are traditionally ascribed to a Rani, but her name has been forgotten. The modern village is situated in the fertile plains immediately to the south-west of the large out-crop of flatrock on which the temples are perched; at the south-western foot of the out-crop of rock is a tank formed by embanking the valley and there is another close to it nearly dry; the out-crop of rock forms a large gently rising elevation, which may be about 200 feet high at its highest point." x x x

"The whole of the existing ruins cover a space of about half a mile long by not even a quarter mile wide; but within this small space they lie in thick clusters." x x x

"There are accordingly no less than 57 temples on or near the banks of the tank in various stages of preservation and decay, but there must once have been brick temples also, as numerous brick-bats are lying about scattered on the banks of the tank; of these even the sites are unknown, and they must have been dismantled and the materials carried off long ago to the adjacent village."¹²

Someśvara Temple

But the largest temple of the entire group standing on or near the banks of the tank is that of Someśvara Śiva, wherein the inscription of Gaganasīvāchārya is found. It records the construction of this temple by this famous Śaiva ascetic. It is also clear from the inscription that the main deity was called both, 'Śrī Someśvara Deva' and 'Śrī Someśnātha' and the temple contained images of at least four different deities, namely Soma

11. *Ancient Karnatak*, Vol. I, by B. A. Salatore, p. 388.

12. *Archaeological Survey of India* by A. Cunningham, Vol. XIII, pp. 128-132.

(Someśvara, the chief deity), Svāmī (Kārtikeya), Siddheśvara (Buddha) and Lakshmī (Gaja-Lakshmī) e. g.

‘सोमस्वामी सिद्धेश्वर लक्ष्मीनाम चतुर्थं क’

The figures of Buddha and Lakshmī (Gaja-Lakshmī) are found sculptured on the jamb and lintel of the entrance respectively. As this temple is a work of Gaganasivāchārya, it may safely be placed in the second half of the ninth century, between circa 850-880 A. D. when he flourished as proved before. Mr. Beglar wrote about the date of this temple as follows :

“The characters of the inscription would place it as early as the ninth century.”¹³ The conjecture made by Mr. Beglar some 80 years ago has now proved correct, by the evidences furnished above. This temple attained great importance in the South-Kosala country, which is attested by its mention in the verse 62 of the Bilhari stone inscription as quoted below :

जित्वा कोसलनाथ मोङ्गनृपतेः रापस्तुयः कालियो
रत्नस्वर्णमय स येन विहित स्सोमेश्वराभ्यर्चनम्
दत्त्वा यः कर्त्वाजिशुभ्रवसनस्रक्चन्दनादीन् पुनः
संसारश्रमशान्तये ति विनतस्तुष्टावतुष्टः प्रभुः ॥

Translation

“After defeating the lord of Kosala, he made the effigy of Kālīya wrought of jewels and gold, which was obtained from the prince of Odra, a reverential offering to Someśvara. Having besides presented elephants, horses, splendid dresses, garlands, sandal and other (gifts), the prince to get out of the toils of this life humbly praised (the god) full of joy.”¹⁴

The date of the expedition of the Chedī king Lakshmaṇa rāja to Kosala, when he paid a visit to the temple of Someśvara is not known definitely. But it can be tentatively placed in Circa 950 A. D.

The date of the minor temples of this place can not be fixed definitely. Only one of the smaller temples called the Kenduvalli temple, which stands at a short distance in front of the Someśvara temple contains a small inscription in 4 lines which is quoted below :

- L1. जोगेश्वर सुतः सुद्धो .
- L2. देवानन्देति विश्रुतः
- L3. तेन कष्टोपचारेण *
- L4. कीर्तिरेषा प्रकीर्तिता ॥

13. *Archaeological Survey of India* by A. Cunningham, Vol. XIII, p. 131.

14. E. I. Vol. I p. 260 & 268.

*The word कष्टोपचारेण is quite clear in the facsimile preserved in the museum. So Dr. Chhabra's reading कृष्णोपचारेण has not been accepted.

This has roughly been assigned to the tenth century A. D. by Dr. Chhabra who has deciphered and edited it.¹⁵ So the temple containing it should belong to that period. There is another small inscription at this place, in 3 lines the purport of which is the conservation of the foot-marks (at the instance of a Siddhāchārya) :

L1. ॐ प्रतिष्ठापयामि L2 दं प (चं) मिद्धा L3. चार्येण वाचितं ।

This is inscribed on the top of a rocky elevation known as 'Rākehasapārvata' lying opposite the Kenduvalli temple at a short distance. The inscription is accompanied on the left by a line drawing, representing a pair of human foot-prints enclosed within a rayed circle." The mention of the word 'Siddhāchārya' in it is significant. It may either refer to Gaganāśiv, who is called a 'Siddhāchārya' in the Someśvara temple inscription or some other famous Śaiva ascetic, whose name is not given or yet known from any other source. This shows that this place which had gained importance as a centre of Śaivism in that age was being visited by Siddhāchāryas. Regarding the importance of this place Beglar aptly remarked thus "The occurrence of so many temples at this spot is sufficiently accounted for by the inscription which records the existence here of a tirtha or place of pilgrimage; I have no doubt a careful perusal and translation of the inscription X X would throw much light on the ancient importance of this spot and identity of one of the many ancient tirthas mentioned in the Hindu sacred literature¹⁶."

True to the remark of Mr. Beglar the Tirtha Kāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru, which was compiled in Circa 1110 A. D. gives the description of one 'Somatīrtha' after Virajā (Jajpur), Purushottama (Puri), Mahendra, (the Mahendra range of the Ganjam district in Orissa). This Somatīrtha could be visited by going in a northerly direction from Mahendra :

वामनपुराणे

दर्शनार्थं ययौ श्रीमानजितं पुरुषोत्तमं

तद्दृष्ट्वा पुण्डरीकाक्ष मक्षरं परमं शुचिः ॥

उपोष्य षड्दिनान्येष महेन्द्रं दक्षिणां ययौ

तत्र क्षेत्रवरं शम्भुमर्द्धनारीश्वरं हरं ॥

दृष्ट्वा स पूज्य च पितृन् महेन्द्रस्योत्तरं गतः

तत्र देववरं शम्भुं गोपाल सोमशीतलं ।

दृष्ट्वा स्वात्वा सोमतीर्थे सहाचलमुपागतः । १७ ।

The Editor of this work says thus "Somatīrtha, a tirtha in Utkala in Orissa. Somanāth in Gujrat does not suit the context so well."¹⁷ The सोमशीतलं देववरशम्भु of the Text quoted above is no doubt god Someśvara. 'Somatīrtha' was the big tank to the south of the temple, where the pilgrims used to take their bath. This is also mentioned in the inscription. "इदं तीर्थं स्वात्वा सर्वपाप विमोचनं" The god Gopāla mentioned in the text, was no doubt

15. E. I., Vol. XXIV, p. 244.

16. Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XIII, p. 131

17. Kṛtyakalpataru of Bhatta Lakshmiṇar edited by K. V. Rangewami Aiyangar Gakwad's Oriental Series, No. XCVIII, p. 235.

the Vishṇu image, (now missing) enshrined in the ancient brick temple of Vishṇu, which is described below. The mention of this place in the Vāmana Purāṇa as quoted in the Tirthakāṇḍa clearly shows that this must have attained importance as a place of pilgrimage before the compilation of this Purāṇa.

The temple of Sixty four Yoginīs

A detailed description of this unique temple or enclosure of sixty-four Yoginīs is given by Beglar¹⁸, which need not be quoted here. As regards the date of this temple Beglar wrote thus, "of its antiquity there can be no doubt and as in style of work and execution it approaches closest to the great inscribed temple, which I have already assigned to the eighth century of our era, I can not assign it to a later date than the ninth century, or about the same period when a similar temple to the same sixty four Yoginīs was built, of which the ruins now exist at Bherāghāt near Jabalpur, and to which period also I would assign the Chaṇṇasat Joginī temple at Khajuraha."

The existence of this temple here indicates the importance of this place as a centre of Tantric worship in the early mediaeval period. Besides this, till recently two other Hypaethral temples of sixty-four Yoginīs were known to exist at Bherāghāt near Jabalpur and Khajuraha. Of these two, the former is circular, while the latter is oblong in shape. In 1953, another Hypaethral temple of 64 Yoginīs was discovered by me at Hirāpur near the river Ishārāvi in the Puri District, which has been assigned tentatively to the eighth or early ninth century.¹⁹ In this paper it has been shown that the Yoginī cult of the Hindu Tantra was greatly influenced by the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism, which originated in the coastal region of Orissa and gradually spread in the adjoining hilly tracts of Orissa and Madhyapradesa. On this basis, this circular temple at Ranipur-Jhariāl may be assigned to a date later than that at Hirapur. So the suggestion of Beglar that this is a monument of the ninth century may be accepted as correct. As the Somavamśī kings were ruling over this part of Orissa from the eighth century it may be taken as a work of one of the kings of this family, whose name is still to be traced.

The Vishṇu Temple ;—From the quotation made above from the Vāmana Purāṇa, it is known that there existed a temple of Gopāla at this place, which can be identified with the ancient brick temple existing here. The presiding diety of this temple is not to be seen now, but on the outer surface of the shrine are still to be seen the images of Varaha, Hanumāna carrying the Gandhamādan hill over his head, and Nṛsimha killing the demon Hiranyakāśipu, which clearly prove that this temple was dedicated for the worship of god Vishṇu. As all the other temples of this place belong to Śaivism, it may be taken as the only solitary Vaiṣṇava monument in this centre of Śaivism, which is called the temple of Gopāla in the Vāmana Purāṇa.

A great portion of the Vimāna or Sanctum upto a height nearly 60 ft. with its attached Antarāla still stands on a pīṭha or plat-form.²⁰ But the Mahāmaṇḍapa or Jagamohana in its front is now totally gone, except the portion of the pīṭha on which it once stood. According to Beglar the pīṭha or plat-form of the entire temple made of sandstone was 90 ft. long and 37 ft. in width.

18. *Archæologica (Survey of India)*, Vol. XIII, pp. 132-136.

19. *The Orissa Historical Research Journal* Vol. II, No. 2 pp. 23-40.]

20. *Arch. S. of India* by Cunningham, Vol. XIII, Plate-XV.

As regards the age of this temple Beglar wrote as follows : "And although it is not possible with any certainty to assign its age, there can, I conceive, be little doubt that it must be placed a century anterior to the numerous small plain stone temples which dot the bare rock above noticed. The basement mouldings are plain, but massive and devoid of the elaborateness which became a principal feature in later temple architecture, and the existence in particular of the Kumbha-shaped moulding goes far to support the antiquity which I would assign to it."...

"The opening in front is not in the usual style of a tall triangle, so that taken altogether the temple is a specimen of the Sirpur style of brick temples."²¹

Thus according to Beglar this is the oldest existing monument of this place and belongs to the seventh or eighth century as he has assigned the other two notable monuments e. g. Someśvar temple, and the circular Yogini temple to the eighth or ninth century, and it has close resemblance with the brick temples of Sirpur.²²

This Vishnu temple has great resemblance with the Lakshmana temple at Sirpur, which is also made of brick and stands on a platform made of stone (77' × 3') with a height of 7'. Both the temples have got a sanctum or Vimāna and a Mahāmandapa in front. This Lakshmana temple was also dedicated to Vishnu as his Avatāras are carved on the door-jambes and there is a Varāha figure on one of the broken plasters.²³ From the Lakshmana temple stone inscription edited and published by Hiralal²⁴ it is learnt that this temple of Hari was built by Queen Vāsātā, the wife of Harshagupta and mother of Mahāśivagupta Balārjuna as both Harshagupta and his wife were great devotees of Vishnu e. g.

तया निजः प्रेत्य पतिर्यथाविधे
बसत्यसौ नित्यमुपासिताच्युतः ।
प्रकाशितुं तादृशमेवकारितं
विभोरिदं धाम हरेः सनातनम्

(Verse 27)

Mahāśivagupta Balārjuna has been assigned to the first half of the seventh century A. D. by Prof. V. V. Mirashi²⁵. Consequently the Lakshmana temple, which was built during the first part of his reign by his old mother may be placed in the same period. The Vishnu temple at Rānipur Jhariāl which is stylistically a proto-type of the Lakshmana temple, was not much posterior to the latter and as such it may also belong to the same century.

The question who was the builder of this temple still awaits solution. It has been shown by me elsewhere²⁶ that the supremacy of the earlier

21. *Ibid*, Vol. XIII, pp. 136-137.

22. *Ibid*, Vol. XVII, Plate XVI.

23. *Ibid*, Vol. XVII, p. 28.

24. *E. I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 181-201.

25. *Maller plates of Mahasivagupta, E. I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113-122.

26. *History of the Kalahandi State before the rise of the Ganga power, J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 265-270.

Somavamśī kings of Sripur extended over some portion of the tract bounded by the Tel river in the south and the Mahānadī in the north. This view is supported by the fact that specimens of Sripur style of brick temples are found not only in Rānipur-Jhariāl, but also at Belkhandi in the Kalahandi District and Vaidyanāth of the Sonepur subdivision, both of which stand just on the bank of the river Tel.

Another fact which deserves mention in this connection is the mention of two villages named Vaidyapadraka and Khadira padraka in the Lodhia plates of Mahāśivagupta Balārjuna,²⁷ which were issued in the 57th year of his reign. It is clear from this charter, that these two villages were included in his kingdom. These two villages were identified by me, with the present villages of Vejipadar and Khairpadar respectively, which lie not far from the Tel river in the district of Kalahandi. But an *lit.* L. P. Pāndeya Sharma, the editor of the plates has identified these two villages with the villages of Baidpalli and Khairpalli on the Aṅg river, both of which lie in the Bargarh subdivision of the Sambalpur district. Either of the two identifications suggested goes to prove that Mahāśivagupta Balārjuna was ruling over some portion of the Sambalpur tract till the close of his reign. The same Khadirapadraka is again mentioned in the Sonepur plates of Janamejaya.²⁸ Thus it can be concluded that the Vishṇu temple at Rānipur-Jhariāl was built during the reign of Mahāśivagupta Balārjuna, who was a great temple-builder, and whose reign was one of the longest in Indian History. Therefore this temple has become a proto-type of the Lakshmana temple of Sripur.

From the fore-going discussion, it is clear that the temples at Rānipur-Jhariāl may be placed within a period ranging from Circa 650 A. D. to 950 A. D., when this tract was under the rule of the earlier and the latter Somavamśī kings. Due to the existence of many temples, at this place, it became a famous Tirtha (Soma Tirtha) so as to deserve mention as one of the Tirthas or holy places of India in the Vāmana Purāṇa.

27. *E. I.*, Vol. XXVII, part VII pp. 319-325

28. *E. I.*, Vol. XXIII, 248-255.

EARLY MEDIEVAL SCULPTURES OF UTKALA (ORISSA)

(STRONG GUPTA INFLUENCES)

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Short History

Very little is known of the history of Orissa during the Gupta period but we may well believe that it was included in the territory directly administered by the Gupta Emperors. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta mentions the names and territories of certain kings of Orissa, who were vanquished by him. We, however, learn from the Summandala Inscription in Khallikota—Orissa¹ that even in the last days of the Gupta Empire, Orissa continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Guptas. This is also proved by the use of the Gupta era in several inscriptions such as the Ganjam plates of Śaśāṅka, Patiakella grant of Śivarāja of the Gupta year, 283 etc.

Of the Śailodbhavas of Kangoda², (the land extending from the Vaitarani river to Rishikulyā), we have several records. The first few kings of this dynasty took advantage of the anarchy following the dissolution of the Gupta Empire and found an independent kingdom but a record (A. D. 619) of the Śailodbhava king Sainyabhita. II Mādhaviāja II shows that he was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa. After Śaśāṅka's death the Śailodbhavas may have gained independence for just a short interval to be conquered again by Harsha in A. D. 643. From the Life of Hieun T'Sang we learn that after the conquest of Orissa Harsha remained there for some time and tried to propagate the Mahāyāna doctrine of Buddhism.

In the latter part of the 6th century A. D. while the Śailodbhavas were ruling the Kangoda, the Kara or Bhauma dynasty of Utkala came to prominence and continued almost up to the end of the 9th century A. D. Their capital was at Guhadevapāṭaka, identified with modern Jajpur in Cuttack District. The Bhauma-Karas were devout Buddhists³ and the Buddhist sculptures executed

1. An account of this inscription has been published in J. H. Q. XXV, p. 75.
2. The Sailendras of Suvarnadvipa are supposed to be the Sailodbhava emigrants of Kangoda. It is likely that the Sailodbhavas being hard pressed between the Bhaumas of Utkala and the Gangas of Kalinga migrated to Malayasia. The Mahayana Buddhist art of the Sailendras of Java has strong affinities with the early medieval Orissan art. The Orissan Buddha figures of the Cuttack Hill may have served as prototypes for the contemporary Javanese Buddhas of Borobudur.
3. The titles 'Paramopasaka', 'Paramatathagata' and 'Paramasaugata' are used in their grants.

during their rule constitute a glorious chapter in the history of Indian art. The dynasty is also famous for spreading Orissan culture into far off China (below p. 3). The Orissan monastery (Hieun T'Sang's Pushpagiri) to which the monk Prajñā came for studying Yoga philosophy after eighteen years of intensive study at the famous Nālandā University must have attained a status of great importance as a centre of learning.

In the absence of any material of definitely Gupta period, it is difficult to ascertain the artistic trends of this part of the country during the Great Gupta artistic efflorescence. It may, however, be stated that the Gupta art tradition which was widely spread was also exercising its influence in Orissa in a provincial manner; and the flourishing Buddhist school of sculptures in the Jajpur Hills connect Gupta sculptures with the later Kalinga school of Orissa. But during the 8th or early 9th century it may be noted that throughout the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley, mainly represented by Sārnāth, and in Bengal and Bihar, the Gupta plastic conception of the fifth and sixth centuries was undergoing a change. The high-tide of Gupta tradition was slowing down and very little remained of its refined sensuousness and sensitive abstraction. The plastic surface grows rather stiff and conventionalised while the outline loses its graceful fluidity. In the Deccan too, the strong accent of the common denominator of Gupta art was lacking. The seventh-eighth century sculptures of the Deccan school at Kanheri, Parel, Bādāmī etc., do register the impact of Sārnāth but are far from the Gupta norm of spiritual bliss. The numerous seated or standing Buddha figures from Ajanṭā of the same age also lack that refined Gupta sensuousness and spiritual luminosity. It must however be noted that of the local provincial schools which developed in the different parts of India after the fall of the Imperial Guptas the Orissan school as represented in the Cuttack Hills is a true heir to the classical Gupta tradition.

Strong centres of early medieval sculptures

Jajpur, also known as Virajākshetra, on the Vaitaraṇī river in the Cuttack District is referred to in the great epics as Virajā Tīrtha. The 4 big images of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi and the Mātrikās in the S. D. O's compound at Jajpur speak eloquently of the artistic activities of this part of the country during 7th-8th century A. D. These images are ascribable to the 7th-8th century A. D. on stylistic grounds and fit in with the general artistic trend of India during this period as envisaged in the rock-cut sculptures at Ellora, Elephanta, Mahābalipuram etc.—the urge for creating sculptures out of the parent rock with the stamp of dynamic vitality and forceful vigour. This urge for creating something colossal inspired by the rock is continued in the 9th and 10th century Orissan sculptures of Utkala as revealed by the two huge rock-cut images of Vishṇu *Anantaśāyina* (respectively 50 ft. and 42 ft. 6 inches long) from Sarang and Bhimkand along the Brahmani valley (fig. 2), in the Dhenkanal and Talcher Districts of Orissa.⁴

Set against these strong Brahmanical school is the flourishing centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the Assia range of hills, Cuttack District. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hieun T'sang⁵ has left a short account of the Buddhist

4. The image of Vishṇu at Sarang is the largest sleeping image in India, the great image 57 ft. high of Gomatesvara at Sravanabelgola in Mysore State being the largest extant standing image.

5. Thomas Watters—On Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 193-194.

monuments in this part of the country in the 7th. century A. D. His account states that the people of this tract were indefatigable students and that many of them were Buddhist-. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries and a myriad brethren all Mahayanists. In the south-west of the country was Pu-sie-p'o-k'i-li (restored by Julien as 'Pushpagiri') monastery in a mountain. To the north-east of this tope in a hill monastery was another tope. It is likely that Hieun T'Sang's Pushpagiri may correspond to the monasteries in the Ratnagiri-Udayagiri hills in the Cuttack District.

That Orissa in those days under the Bhauma-Karas was a strong centre of Buddhists learning as Nālandā, Vikramaśilā⁶ and Somapura⁷ is further evident from the deep study and valuable researches of Prof. Sylvan Levi the great Sinologist-. He has shown from Chinese Buddhist texts that the Chinese emperor Te-tsang received in 795 A. D. an autograph manuscript of the philosophical treatise on Gaṇḍa Vyūha⁸ from a Buddhist king called Subhākara-Kesarin of Wu-ch'a (Uda-Orissa) through the monk Prajñā, a native of Kapisa (Afghanistan) who had settled in the monastery of the king of Wu-ch'a (Orissa) to study Yoga philosophy there, after having visited the sacred places and finished his educational course in the well known universities of Northern India, including Nālandā where he spent eighteen years. It is likely that the monasteries on the Pushpagiri hills mentioned by Hieun T'Sang constituted a great centre of learning and the eminence to which it had attained is evident from the fact that Prajñā visited the place after completing his training at other places including the famous Nālandā University. The above episode not only proves the cultural contact of Orissa with China but is also a tribute to the culture of Orissa in the past ages.

Buddhist sculpture in the Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri hills, Dist. Cuttack.

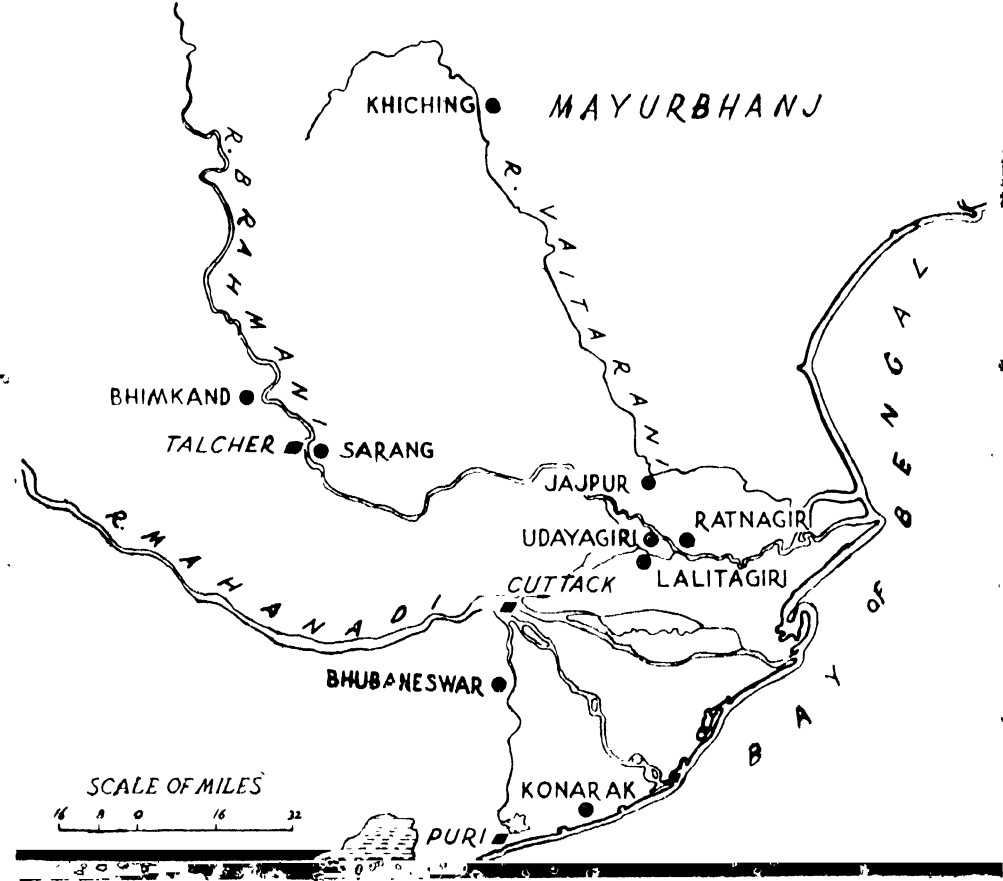
Buddhist sculptures of these hills are masterpieces of sculptural art with an individual stamp about them speaking a dialect of their own and infused with a strong element of Gupta sensuousness. The smoothness of modelling producing a sensuous outline leads Dr. Kramrisch to rightly remark "In no other Art Province has the outline such pliable amplitude." These sculptures are further important as providing the important but missing link to the vigorous Brahmanical art which thrived on the soil of Orissa from the 8th to 13th centuries A. D. with its important centres at Jajpur, Khiching, Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konārak. It goes without saying that if the Brāhmaṇi and the Vaitaraṇi valleys are properly explored, much of the hitherto neglected period of Orissan early mediaeval history, especially with regard to art and architecture

6. Identified with Patharghata in the Bhagalpur District, Bihar.

7. Identified with Paharpur in the Rajshahi District, Eastern Pakistan.

8. The original manuscript of Gaṇḍa Vyūha and the letter of the king of Orissa with their Chinese translations made by Prajña have been preserved in China upto today.

BRĀHMANĪ-VAITARANĪ VALLEY





Vishnu Ananta Śāyan, from Sarang in Dhenkanal District - Orissa



A large Buddha head lying on the Western slope of the hill above Kelua Nāla
Ratnagiri—Dist. Cuttack.



A large Buddha head placed to the East of the Mahānāla temple
under a tree,
Ratnagiri – Di-t. Cuttack



Buddha in *bhūmi sparśa mudrā* (of. Plate III (4) of *Memoir 44* of ASI)
South of the Mahānāla temple in one of the cell like enclosure
built of brick (from West),
Udayagiri—Dist. Cuttack.



Large-sized Bhuddha figure in *bhumiśparśa mudrā* in the *math* compound of Nanda Pahar, from West,
Lalitagiri—Dist. Cuttack



Bodhisattva Vajrapani from Lalitagiri - Cuttack,
at present in the Indian Museum.



Inscribed image of Bodhisattva from Lalitagiri
Padmapāni.

will be reconstructed. Though these sculptures of Utkala (Northern Orissa) of the 7th to 9th centuries may not have that dynamic vitality of the contemporary sculptures of the Western India and the Deccan, they far surpass them in refined sensuousness and elegant grace.

Colossal Budha Heads

In the delineation of the huge Buddha heads measuring 4' from chin to top and 3' 6" from ear to ear (figs. 3 and 4) and the seated Buddhas in *bhūmiśparśa mudrā* (figs. 5 and 6) the Orissan artists of this period introduced not only Gupta sensuousness and sublimity but also infused an element of forceful vigour and it is this rather rare combination that attaches greater importance to these sculptures. The artist has wonderfully succeeded in reflecting the inner meditation on the face by such devices as half-open eyes to show that the deity was wrapped in meditation (*dhyāna*, *yoga*) and the delicately sensitive curling lips. "These singular specimens not only bespeak profoundly the spiritual or energised experience but considerable nervous tension and concentration of force too like the celebrated Buddha from Anurādhapura, Ceylon."⁹ It may also be stated that the Javanese Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Borobudur have striking similarities with these Early Medieval Orissan Buddha figures--the typical curls of the hair, divine sublimity combined with that feeling of latent energy are the marked characteristics. We are aware of the active maritime contacts of Kalinga with Greater India during this period and as such the close artistic affinities.

The Bodhisattva figures too evince an air of elegant grace and are superb in technique and execution. From the Vajrapāṇi and the Padmapāṇi figures illustrated (figs. 7 and 8) we get an idea of the ideal technique used by the authors of these sculptures. The masterly expression of the face smiling but calm, the superb modelling of the torso, the *tribhanga* pose, the schematic arrangement of the locks of long hair over the shoulders and above all the surging linear rhythm are distinctive traits and go to indicate the highest state of plastic art which Orissa had attained in the early medieval period.

9. Devaprasad Ghose, 'Relation between the Buddha images of Orissa and Java' *Modern Review*, LIV, 500,

LIBRARY MANAGEMENT IN MUGHUL INDIA

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The Turk and the Afghan rulers of India during the Sultanate period of Indian History had no separate buildings for their libraries. The State Library as well as the personal library of the Sultans were located within the palace, while the educational buildings, the mosques with their maktabas and the khairiyahs and madrasas were the places where books for the public were stocked and preserved. The public could visit these public libraries and profit by them. We do not come across the mention of State libraries and the personal libraries of the Sultans as well as the public libraries during the early Sultanate period, though during the second half of this period we come across the accounts of the Library of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who was a contemporary of Ala-ud-din Khalji. The Library of Nizam-ud-din Auliya was situated in his khanqah in Delhi.¹ This Library was a public property, as it had been raised from *waqfs* (public donations) and grants from the rich people, and was open to the public. Another important library of the later Sultanate period was that of Ghazi Khan at Milwat² some of whose books were later taken out by Babur and distributed among his sons. Besides there were libraries of many rulers of the provincial kingdoms like Gujarat, Bidar, Khandesh, Bijapur, Bengal, Maharashtra and others as well as the libraries of many noblemen of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Libraries of the Emperors

The Mughul emperors who followed the Sultans of Delhi were all accomplished men of culture and education. They were great patrons of learning, were lovers of the fine arts and had a taste for libraries. They maintained a separate portion of their palaces for keeping their choice books and a good selection of them was maintained by them in their private libraries. It was their practice to support a huge State Library besides some public libraries.

The library of Babur was the place where he took rest when tired and studied in his leisure. It was in this library that he wrote his *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*. His Public Works Department³ was to repair and construct school buildings and maktabas, which contained a library almost in every case. Humayun converted the Pleasure House of Sher Shah in the Purana Qila into a library, and it was as a result of his fall from the stairs of this library at Sher Mandal

that the emperor received injuries and finally succumbed to them.⁴ Akbar's personal library was a department in itself, and so also was the State Library during his time, "to which probably no parallel then existed or had ever existed in the world"⁵. His son Jahangir was a real scholar and had a big personal library. His *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* is a good proof of his love of books and his scholarship.⁶ Shah Jahan was no less interested in books and libraries, and daily spent the early part of the night⁷ in his study room reading one book or the other. Aurangzeb, who was a master of Persian and Arabic languages, kept his love of books to his last⁸ and continued the patronage of books and libraries.

Libraries : A Separate Department.

During the Mughul period there was a special department of the Government to look after the libraries, their equipment and management. The department was responsible for the proper maintenance and care of the State, the Imperial and the public libraries in the capital city of the empire. Naturally, a large number of people were employed in this department,

The Nazim.

The highest official of the State Library and the Royal Library was the Nazim or the Mutamid,⁹ who was considered to be the general manager of the library and the head of this department. The Nazim was the incharge of the income and the expenditure of the Library, as also the appointment, discipline and dismissal of the employees of the Library, specially the lower staff. He was responsible to the emperor for everything regarding the library. The Nazim was almost invariably a high dignitary or nobleman at the court. Akbar's Nazims were Mulla Pir Muhammad and Shaikh Faizi. Jahangir's Nazim was Maktub Khan.

The Darogha.

The Darogha was the next highest official of the Library during this period, and looked after the internal management¹⁰ of this department under the supervision of the Nazim. The Darogha-i-Qutub-khana was a man of letters, a well-read and highly accomplished man, acquainted with both the Arts subjects and the Science subjects. He was usually a master-mind.¹¹ He performed his stupendous duties with the assistance of a number of assistants and colleagues. He was entrusted with the duties of purchasing, arranging, classifying and maintaining the books in proper order according to their subject-matter. A host of clerks under him maintained up-to-date catalogues for each individual subject. Each assistant was incharge of his own section and subject.¹² The Darogha-i-Kutubkhana also preserved the books in the Library from damage of every kind and variety.

The Library Building.

Each library of the Mughul period had a spacious building of its own. The floor of the library building was kept spotlessly clean and free from dust and filth. Proper care was taken that the building was free also from damp and moisture in order to save the books from being spoilt from it. Books during this period were mostly manuscript and, therefore, there was the danger of their pages sticking to each other from humidity in the air. The architects and the engineers were also to make proper provisions for light and air in order

to keep the buildings airy and bright. The library buildings of Humayun Akbar, and Shah Jahan are testimony to their spaciousness and cleanliness, as also sufficiency of air and light¹³.

The Classification of Books.

"Books in a library", says Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, "can be used to the maximum possible extent only if they are arranged on the shelves in a classified order according to their subject matter".¹⁴ The librarian of the Mughul period were fully conscious the fact that classification was an essential part of library administration and management. Books in the smaller libraries were classified into two sections, the Arts and the Sciences. In the bigger libraries, however, the books were more scientifically classified into a number of sub-divisions according to their subject matter. The books in the library of Akbar, for instance, were subdivided and classified into the following subjects and sections¹⁵:—

1. Astrology
2. Astronomy
3. Commentaries
4. Geography
5. Law
6. Medicine
7. Music
8. Philology
9. Philosophy
10. Poetry
11. Sufism
12. Theology
13. Traditions.

The Maintenance of Books.

Like the librarians of our time, the Mughul librarians also kept rare and scarce manuscript books separately from the common books. Rare books, as also those of some special value, were preserved in special almirahs and trunks in a different apartment of the building.

Books in those days were kept in almirahs and trunks in their serial numbers. They were so well arranged that any book could be found out and handed over to the borrower at a moment's notice. Special attendants and experts were employed to clean and dust the books periodically and to see that they were not soiled by weather, spoilt by their constant use and age or eaten away by the worms or destroyed in any other way.¹⁶ These experts removed the dust off the books and turned and inspected every page of the books at regular intervals. So great was the care with which rare books were handled and preserved.

Usually books were not allowed to go out of the Library building.¹⁷ Big libraries, therefore, had their own book-binders and gilders who worked inside the premises. A number of painters were attached to every big library whose work it was to illustrate the manuscript books and to beautify them. Highly skilled calligraphers¹⁸ were in regular employ of the libraries to copy out rare manuscripts and most commonly used books in a beautiful handwriting.

Other Staff.

Copyists copied books at a great speed which were later on transcribed by expert calligraphers. After a new manuscript was copied and beautifully written out by the calligraphers, it was sent to the Muqabila Navis who compared it with the original and corrected the slips and mistakes if any. The chief Muqabila Navis was a man of wide learning and scholarship and was a highly paid official. He was expected to complete the missing portions of the books, fill in the gaps and sometimes even to correct the original if it happened to be wrong.¹⁹ Thus he was expected to be a person of encyclopaedia learning and scholarship and a very widely read man as well as a master of the Arts and the Sciences. The next process in book production was their illustration and illumination by the expert painters. They prepared full-page illustrations for the books, beautified them by marginal paintings and covered the blank portions of almost all the pages of the books. The last step was the share of the book binders, gilders and the cutters, who were masters of their art. One of the most well known book binders of the Mughal period was Muhammad Amin Khurasani, the inventor of the *Abri* (shining) paper used for binding, who was employed as a book binder and gilder by Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan.

Conclusion.

The library in the Mughal age was a highly developed and specialized department of the Government machinery. While it provided employment to many persons, it very greatly influenced the literary, social and cultural life at the Court, as also those of the people in general.

The State and the Royal libraries, however, were separate from the Government Record offices. The State records were kept in the Public Records Office which was a part of the Diwan's department. All reports from the news writers and the Diwan-i-Barid were stocked and preserved in the Record Office, which was a counterpart of the national archives of the Government of India today at New Delhi.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. K. S. Lal : *History of the Khaljis*, p. 382 ; Mahdi Hussain, *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*.
2. Babur : *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, Translated by Beveridge, Volume II.
3. N. N. Law : *Promotion of Learning*, etc..
4. Wolseley Haig : *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, page 303.
5. V. A Smith : *Akbar, the great Mogul*, page 424.
6. Jahangir : *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Edited by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II.
7. Jadunath Sarkar : *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays*, page 174.
8. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, page 71.
9. Muhammad Sadiq : *Shah Jahan Nama* Volume II, page 505.
10. *Ibid*,
11. Abdul Baqi : *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Volume III, page 1686.
12. *Ibid* page 1686.
13. Abul Fazl : *Ain-i-Akbari*, Volume I, Translated by Phillot.
14. S. R. Ranganathan : *Suggestions for Organization of Libraries*, page 47.
15. N. N. Law : *Promotion of Learning*, etc., pages 132 and 151.
16. Abdul Baqi : *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Volume III page 1680.
17. Abdul Fazl : *Ain-i-Akbari*, Volume I.
18. Abdul Fazl : *Ain-i-Akbari*, Volume I.
19. Abdul Baqi : *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Volume III, page 1696.
20. S. R. Sharma : *Mughal Government administration*, page 41.

DATE OF KHĀRAVELA

Prof. Amar Chand

Of all questions concerning Indian History, dates are the most puzzling. Rarely are they recorded in literature ; and tradition too is faulty at almost every step. As a general rule, it is necessary, therefore, to receive deductions on the subject with some reservation. For, what appears most satisfactorily established by one set of data, has been entirely upset by another evidence or interpretation.

The date of Khāravēla has been a subject of wide controversies for long. We know of Emperor Khāravēla from the famous Hāthigumphā Inscription incised in the ceiling of a natural cavern on the Udayagiri, the ancient Kumārīgiri, in Orissa. The Inscription gives the chief events of the life of the Emperor year by year. Here he is called 'Adhipati', while his Chief Queen's' (*Agrimahishi*) record engraved in the Svargapuri Cave, styles him 'Chakravartī'. But neither of the records say even a single word about Khāravēla's ancestors or parentage, which might have helped us in fixing his position in the chronological scheme of Ancient Indian History. Nor is there mentioned directly an era or date by which we can determine the exact years of Khāravēla. We have, therefore, to depend upon certain internal and circumstantial evidences in order to determine his date.

Of the earlier scholars, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī was the first who believed that the Inscription was incised in the thirteenth year of Khāravēla's reign, which corresponded to the 165th year of the Maurya era, counted from the date of Aśoka's *Kalinga-vijaya* in B. C. 255.¹ He thus placed Khāravēla's accession in B. C. 103. Dr. J. F. Fleet, however, denied the occurrence of a date in the Mauryan era ; and was followed by Prof. H. Luders,² who fixed up the accession in B. C. 224, taking the term *ti-vasa-sata* in Line 8, as 103 year since Nandarāja counted from B. C. 322, the date of the last Nanda ruler. But the theory of a date in the Maurya era was again revived by Dr. S. Konow,³ and carried forward by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and Prof. R. D. Banerji.⁴ Later on, however, on a close scrutiny of the record,⁵ they

1. *Actes du Sixieme Congres International des Orientalists*, Pt III, Sec. II, pp. 152-77.

2. *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 242i & 824.

3. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, No. 1315.

4. *Acta Orientalia*, No. I 1923, p. 12.

5. *JBORS*, Vol. III, 1917, pp. 425-85.

also changed their views, now denying the existence of a date in the Maurya year. Prof. R. D. Banerji⁶ has given a sequence of events of Khāravēla's life, placing him in the first half of the second Century B. C., following Dr. K. P. Jayaswal synchronism of Khāravēla with Demetrius, the Indo-Bactrian king, and (Brihaspatimitra or) Pushyamitra, the first Śunga ruler of Magadha.

In this way, we find that scholars were divided into two different schools—one in favour of occurrence of a Maurya date in the Inscription and other denying it; and both the schools were followed by numerous scholars. Recent readings and repeated examinations of the record have finally decided in favour of the latter school, viz. the absence of a date in the Maurya era. What the supporters of the former school read in line 16 as *Muriyakalā* or Maurya era, has been read by other as *Mukhyakalā*, meaning the principal art,⁸ and thus changed the very sense of the phrase.

But a date in the second Century B. C. could also not be finally accepted, and scholars like Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari,⁹ Dr. D. C. Sircar,¹⁰ followed by Dr. B. M. Barua,¹¹ Prof. N. N. Ghosh,¹² and others have put forward varied arguments suggesting a date as late as the closing years of the first Century B. C. Hence two separate groups of scholars have again cropped up—one who assign an early date to Khāravēla and other a later one. But arguments in favour or against either or the groups are not conclusive.

Internal Evidences

Sātakarni

Looking to internal evidences, we come across certain contemporary rulers mentioned in the Inscription, and if we could decide upon their dates, our problem might be solved.

In his second year, Khāravēla sent his forces towards the west disregarding Sātakarni, who is none else than ruler of the Āndhra Sātavāhana house. Now, among the early Āndhra rulers, we know of a certain Sātakarni, the husband of Nāyiniḱā, from the Nānāghāt record, and he has been identified with the third ruler of the Paurānic lists.

The name of the Āndhra nation is extremely ancient, being mentioned in the Aitreya Brāhmaṇa represented as a Dāsyu race, living on the fringes of the Aryan settlements, and descended from Viśvāmitra¹³. At a later date they find a mention in the 13th rock-edict of Asoka, and were reckoned among the tribes and nations resident in or adjoining the outer limits of the Maurya empire, and perhaps subject to the Imperial command, although enjoying a considerable degree of autonomy under their own *rājā*. Secondly, believing the Paurānic evidence of thirty kings with a reign of 460 years and also that

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, P. 83f.

7. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I; 1929, pp. 91-92.

8. D. C. Sircar, *Select Ins.* Vol. I, 1942, No. 91, pp. 206 ff. fn. 15.

9. *P.H.A.I.*, Calcutta, 1950, P. 374 f.

10. *Sel. Ins. Ind.*; *Imperial Unity*, 1951, p. 215f.

11. Barua, *Old Brahmi Ins.* (O. I. 1929), p. 293.

12. *Early History of India*, Allahabad 1948, p. 186-94.

13. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, 1916, p. 70.

Āndhra power came to an end in about A. D. 225, we arrive at $(460 - 225 =)$ B. C. 235 or near about as the date of Simuka, the first of the Āndhra rulers. We may, hence, fix $(235 - 23 - 18 =)$ B. C. 190-72 (approximately) as the date of Sātakarni, the first.

But it has been argued against this date that, firstly, the Purāṇas are not unanimous about the number of kings and the total duration of their reign. The Matsya talks about 19 kings, but gives 30 names, whereas in other *MS.*, the number differs from 28 to 21. The Vāyu, on the other hand, gives the total number of rulers as 30 but quotes only 17 to 19 names. Same is the case about the duration of their sovereignty. It differs widely as 460, 412, 272½ and so on. In the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the longer list includes the names of princes also who never came to the throne or might have held provinces. It has been suggested by Dr. Raychaudhuri¹⁴ that if the main line of Sātavāhana kings consisted only of nineteen kings and if the duration of their rule be approximately three centuries, there is no difficulty in according the Puranic statement that Simuka flourished in the time of later Kānvas, that is the first Century B. C. and the dynasty ceased to rule in the third Century A.D.

Secondly, talking in the same tone, depending upon Puranic chronology we find that ten rulers of the Śuṅga dynasty, which came to power 137 years after Chandragupta Maurya's accession in B. C. 324 reigned for a period of 112 years. The last Śuṅga ruler, Devabhūti, was overthrown by his *amātya* Vāsudeva, the founder of the Kānva dynasty, which lasted for 45 years after four successive reigns. The last of them, Susarmana, was ousted by Simuka, the first of the Sātavāhana house. We, accordingly, arrive at B. C. 30 (B. C. 324—[137+112+45]) as the date of Simuka, in which year he might have ousted the last Kānva and himself reigned for 23 years. Allowing 18 years 10 years, according to some) for Kṛṣṇa, his successor, we arrive at B. C. 12 as the date of Sātakarni, and accordingly, Khāravela ascended the throne of Kalinga in B. C. 14.

Brihaspatimitra¹⁵

We are informed that Khāravela in the twelfth year of his reign subdued Brihaspatimitra, the ruler of Magadh¹⁶. Now, we come across the following different kings of this name who flourished within a few centuries this side or that of the Christian era :

1. Brihaspatimitra (Brihasvātimitra occurring on an inscribed brick at Mora, near Mathura, commemorating the erection of a temple by his daughter, Yaśamitā,¹⁷

14. *Ibid.* pp. 403 ff.

15. John Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, (GCA I.) London, P. xoviii.—“.....we cannot agree that Brihaspatimitra is mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription. The word in question being a *bahu*, the certain elements in it seems to be *bahu* (s...) *idā*: it is very probably not a proper name at all, for the suggested reading of the preceding word as *Magadha cha rajanam* is extremely improbable, philologically as well as palaeographically.”

16. Line 12. मागधं च राजानं ब्रह्मसतिमित्रं पादे बन्दापयति

17. Vogel, *JRAS*, 1912, Pt. II, p. 120.

2. Bahsatimitra from the Pabhosa inscription, near Allahabad, commemorating the excavation of a cave by his maternal uncle (Mātula) Ashādhasena. The inscription is dated in the 10th year of a king Udāka.¹⁸
3. The Kośāmbi coins¹⁹ suggest two different Brhaspatimitras on the consideration of their types, and the coins of one of the them, probably of the later, are restruck.²⁰
4. A coin of Brhaspatimitra preserved in the Lucknow Museum which has been assigned to the Pāñchāla series.²¹
5. A legend in the Divyavadāna speaks of a Brhaspati as a Mauraya king among the successors of Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka.²²
6. Brhaspatimitra of a neo-Mitra dynasty which came possibly into existence sometime after the Kāṇvas.²³

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal²⁴ placed Khāravela's accession in B. C. 182, taking him to be a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śūṅga (B. C. 181-151). The validity of this view is claimed primarily on the soundness of his identification with Brhaspatimitra merely on grounds that Brhaspati (Jīva) is the regent, *Nakṣatrādhipa*, of the *nakṣatra* or Zodiacal asterism Pushya, also named Ti-hya, in the constellation Cancer or the Crab.²⁵ But this cannot be regarded as final in the absence of more convincing evidence,²⁶ and has been rejected as far-fetched by all scholars.

Efforts have been made to assume the two Brhaspatimitras of the Mora and Pabhosa inscriptions to be one and the same individuals on grounds

18. *Epi. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 241 and plate.

19. *C. C. A. I.*, London, 1236, P. xcvi. (Kosambi Coins). "...closely connected with the preceding in style, types and date are two inscribed coins bearing the names of Sudeva and Brihaspatimitra, which cannot be later than the first half of the second century B. C. and might even be as early as the third Century B. C. This Brihaspatimitra is a different ruler from the Brihaspatimitra who issued struck coins (nos. 16, 25) which are comparatively common. Apart from the striking differences in fabric and type, the epigraphy is quite different and earlier. Compare, for example, the forms of *ya*, *sa* and *ta* in the two. The epigraphy of the former is still roughly speaking Asokan while that of the latter is Sunga.

Dr. A. S. Al'ekar *JNSA*, IV, 192, P. 143) has published a coin of Brihaspatimitra II with the remarks: ".....quite clear that it was king Brihaspatimitra whose coins have been restruck." But can we conclude from this that it was Khāravela who restruck the coin after conquering Brihaspatimitra, as is believed to be mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription? But then we shall have to place Khāravela some time in the second Century B. C.

20. *CCAI*, p. xciv & 150; *JNSI*, IV, 1942, p. 143.

21. *CCAI*, p. cxvii; V. A. Smith, *Catalogues of coins in the Indian Museum* Vol. I 1936 p. 185

22. *JBORS*, II, 96; III 480; Barua *OBI* p. 273.

23. *PHAI*, 401.

24. *JBORS*, III, Pt. III-IV, pp. 236, 45.

25. *Saṅkhyayāna Gṛha Sūtra*, I, 26, 6. (Quoted by Jayaswal).

26. *PHAI*, pp. 373 ff. Apart from this in literature Brhaspati, Pushyadharmana, and Pushyamitra occur as names of distinct individuals, and represents Patliputra as the residence of the latter, whereas the Magadhan antagonist of Khāravela is probably called *Rajagahana* (cf. Luder's reading in the *Epi. Ind.* Vol. X App. No. 1345 with K. P. Jayaswal; Konow reads राजगृह उपवीडयति though he admits that राजगृहप (न्) पीडयति is also possible), and apparently resided in the city of Rajagṛha.

that both the principalities acknowledged the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas; and further, that they are also identical with the Brhaspatimitra of the coins.²⁷

John Allan,²⁸ objecting to the above, argues, in favour of two different princes of the same name, identical with Brhaspatimitra I and II of the coins: "Comparing the epigraphy of the two inscriptions, we see that the Mora inscription is much earlier in date; when we remember that the Mora inscription is put up by his daughter and the Pabhosa by his uncle—although the difference in date may not have been great—it is still more unlikely that the king referred to should be the same in both. The epigraphy of the Pabhosa inscription agrees very well with that of Brhaspatimitra II's coins, and although doubling of *ta* before *ra* (*mitra*) is not found on the coins, the two may well be identical specially as Pabhosa may be presumed to be within the territory of the king of Kosāmbi. The inscription is dated in the tenth year of a king Udāka,²⁹ who has been identified by Dr. Jayaswal³⁰ with the fifth king of the Śuṅga dynasty, whose name appears in various forms in the Puranic lists³¹—Bhadraka in the Bhāgawata, Ādraka and Odraka in the Viṣṇu, Andhraka in the Vāyu and Antaka in the Matsya Purāṇa. According to the Puranic chronology, the date in question could be B. C. 120, and a date of B. C. 125-100 would suit Brhaspatimitra's coins. As to the Mora inscription there is no palaeographic objection in identifying the Brhaspatimitra mentioned there whose daughter married the king of Mathura, with Brhaspatimitra I of the coins...It is quite impossible to identify the Brhaspatimitra of the coins with the Śuṅga Pushyamitra—quite apart from the improbability of this use of synonyms—for the coins cannot be removed from Kosāmbi, the coins of which are a very homogeneous series." The argument applies to the Pāñchāla coins also,

Coming to the identification of the Brhaspati of the *Divyāvadāna* with that of inscriptions, we note that the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 433) mentions the following genealogy after Samprati, the grandson of Asoka—Sampadi, Brhaspati, Vṛishena, Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra. Dr. Jayaswal³² has brushed aside any possibility of the identification in the following words: "He (Brhaspatimitra) was identical either with Śālisuka (B. C. 211-210) or his successor Devadharman (B. C. 210-3), as the *Divyāvadāna* gives two names between him and Pushyamitra. This Brhaspati cannot be identified with the Brhaspatimitra of the inscription for two reasons. Mitra is not the member of the name of the Maurya king. Nor would the letters of the inscription warrant one going back to B. C. 203. Further in that case the inscription would not be dated in the year of the founder of the family of the vanquished rival"

Regarding a Neo-Mitra dynasty, Dr. Raychudhari³³ says: "The only rulers of note in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, whom we know from epigraphic evidence, to have ruled in Magadha and the

27. Vogel, *JRS.* 1912, p. 120; K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS.* 1917, p. 473-80; Rapson, *OHI.* pp. 524-6.

28. *COAI.* pp. xvii-viii.

29. This is, according to Allan, the correct reading; the Jain Commentator Silanka equates Udaka with Ādraka, see Jacobi's *Jaina Sutra*, Pt. II, p. 417.

30. *JBORS.* 1917, pp. 457 & 472-83.

31. *PHAI.* p. 393.

32. *JBORS.* III. p. 480.

33. *PHAI.* p. 401

neighbouring territories are the so-called 'mitras'. The prevalence of 'Mitra' rule is also hinted at by references in Jaina literature to Balamitra and Bhānumitra among the successors of Pushyamitra. From a study of epigraphs, Dr. Barua compiled a list of Mitra kings. It includes the names of Brhatsvātimitra, Indrāgnimitra, Brahmanitra, Brihaspatimitra, Dharmamitra and Vishnumitra. Of these only Indrāgnimitra and Brahmanitra and possibly Brihaspatimitra are definitely associated with Magadha in addition to other territories. The rest are connected with Kośāmbi and Mathura. It is not known in what relationship most of these Mitra kings stood to one another or to the celebrated families of the Śūngas and the Kānvas.

Dr. B. Barua³⁴ also holds the same opinion: "We must still hold to Dr. Raychaudhari's theory of a neo-Mitra dynasty reigning in Magadha from the termination of the rule of the Kānvas in the middle of the first Century B. C. and regard Indrāgnimitra and Brahmanitra as two immediate predecessors of king Brihaspatimitra who was the weaker rival and contemporary of Khāravela." And if this is so, then Khāravela should be assigned a date in the last quarter of the first Century B. C.

Yavana-Rāja Dīmīta

In the eighth line of the inscription, there is supposed to be a reference to the Yavanarāja Dīmīta i. e. Demetrius, who, through the uproar occasioned by the action of Kharavela, retreated towards Mathura. Dr. Jayaswal and Prof. Banerji, after a fresh examination of the Inscription in 1919, announced that they had read the word Yavanarāja followed by the proper name Dīmīta. K. P. Jayaswal stated that he found the syllable *ma* clear and ultimately, with great difficulty, read Dīmīta.³⁵ The reading and its interpretation as the Greek king Demetrius³⁶ were accepted both by R. D. Banerji³⁷ and Dr. Sten Konow,³⁸ however, said of his own reading: "I can see Yavanarāja as read by Mr. Jayaswal and of his Dīmīta the *mz* is quite legible." He did not say if he could see the supposed faint traces of the rest of the word. It is, therefore, clear that there remained an element of conjecture in the readings.³⁹

There is also, as Dr. Tarn apprehend,⁴⁰ an element of conjecture in the decipherment of the sentence which states what the Yavanarāja did, as the translations differ considerably. Konow's version⁴¹ was: "And through the uproar occasioned by the action (i. e. the incidents of Khāravela's invasion of Magadha) the Yavana king Demetrius went off to Mathura in order to relieve his generals who were in trouble." Jayaswal's version⁴² was: "On account of the report (uproar) occasioned by the acts of valour (i. e. the capture of a fortress etc.) the Greek king Demetrius drawing in his army transport retreated to abandon Mathura." Then in 1928, Jayaswal put forward a totally different

34. *Gaya and Bodhdhagaya*, Vol. II, 1934, Cal. p. 74.

35. *JBORS*, XIII, 1927, pp. 221 & 228.

36. Transcriptions: Dattamitra (*Patanjali and Mahabharata*); Devamantiya (*Milindapanha*); Dharmamita (*Yuga Purana*); Demetriya (on the bilingual tert-drachm); Timitra (on a seal from Besnagar, *ASI*, 1914-1915, I p. 19; II. pp. 77).

37. *Ibid*,

38. *Acta Orientalia*, I, 1923, P. 27.

39. Dr. W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India (GBI)*, 1952, App. V. pp. 457ff.

40. *Ibid*, P. 458.

41. *Acta Orientalia*, I, 1923, p. 27.

42. *JBORS*, XIII, 1927, p. 228.

view.⁴³ What the inscription refers to, he said, is the Greek king (he does not say Demetrius) being beaten off from Patliputra when he attacked it and retreating to Mathura. He had evidently discarded the abandonment of Mathura and on this theory Khāravela does not come into the business at all.⁴⁴

It appears then that all we can get at, taking the most favourable views, is that a Greek king, who may have been Demetrius, retreated to Mathura. So much is known from other sources. The Yuga Purāṇa⁴⁵ records the withdrawal of the Greeks from the Middle Country, while Ptolemy and also the Greek coins show that Menander subsequently ruled in Mathura.⁴⁶ "Certainly the reason for this withdrawal given or implied in the inscription—that the Greeks were frightened away by the invasion of Khāravela, though ex hypothesi he was attacking their enemy Pushyamitra—cannot be right: it may have pleased Khāravela to think so"—argues Dr. Tarn.⁴⁷

Dr. Tarn further adds: One further point must be briefly noticed. Konow has put forward the view that if the Kharavela inscription really means Demetrius (note the "if") then Demetrius was the king of the siezes of Sāketa and Madhvāmikā mentioned by Patañjali⁴⁸ which would mean (among other things) that it was he and not Menander who led the Greek advance south-eastwards, and he and not apollodotus who led Greek advance southward of Sind. Had the relations between Demetrius and his lieutenants ever been worked out, such theory could never have been put forward; the evidence given in Chapter IV (of his work) is too strong to give it a chance. But quite apart from that, the inscription can have no bearing at all on the Greek invasion.⁴⁹

One more point in connection with the Greek advance to Pataliputra must be noticed. One need not waste time over the belief of some writers that the Greek kings were condottiere and their conquests were raids, beyond hoping that such writers have clear ideas of what a raid from Rawalpindi upon Patna would mean.⁵⁰

43. *JBORS*, XIV, p. 417.

44. Tarn *GBI*, p. 458.

45. Translation of Sections 5 and 7, concerning Greeks (Qtd. Tarn, *Op. Cit* App, IV):

(5) After this, having invaded Saketa, the Panchalas and Mathura, the viciously valiant Yavanas (Greeks) will reach Kusumadvaja (the town of the flower-standard). Then the thick mud-fortification (embankment) at Patliputra being reached, all the provinces will be in disorder without doubt. Ultimately a great battle will follow with tree (—like) engines.

(7) The *tama* elders of *Dharma-mita* will fearlessly devour the people. The Yavanas (Greeks) will command, the kings will disappear. (But ultimately) the Yavanas, intoxicated (in the middle country); there will be a very terrible and ferocious war.

46. Tarn, *GBI* pp. 227, 228 n, 2; and 245.

47. *Ibid*, p. 458

48. *Acta Orientalia*, I, 1923, p. 35; Jayaswal has followed him, *JBORS* Vol, XIV, p. 127,

49. Even if the reading Dimita be correct, the reference to Demetrius or to Diymeta or Diomedes as suggested by Whitehead (*Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 36) cannot be taken to be correct, since Diomedes belonged to the house of Eukratides and hence was confined to the north western part of India, (Tarn *GBI*, 315; Rapson, *CHI*, 556), and therefore, nothing to do, not only with Patliputra, but even the eastern part of the country to river Jhelum,

50. Sri P. L. Gupta, M. A., Asst. Curator, Kala Bhavan, Banaras, has suggested to the present author that the ruler mentioned may have been Wema of the Kadphises group of the Kushanas. He has, however, not put forward any argument in favour of his theory. But were it Wema Kadphises, we shall, in that case, have to place Kharavela in the middle of the first century A. D.

Phrase, 'Ti-Vasa-Sata'

There is a phrase '*ti-vasa sata*' in line 4 of the inscription. The following renderings have been proposed in regard to that :—

1. 'He (Khāravēla) opened the three-yearly alm-house of Nandarāja' as translated by Indrajī in the *International Oriental Congress Proceedings*. Leiden, 1884, (Pt. III, P. 135.) He took *Sata* as *sattara* which is equivalent to *satra* in Sanskrit, and it means alms-house. But this rendering is not accepted by scholars now.
2. 'He has an aqueduct conducted into the city which has been used for 103 years since king Nanda'. This translation has been proposed by Prof. Luders in (*Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. X, App. No. 1345, P. 161.) He took *sata* to be *sata* which means hundred,
3. 'He brings into the capital the canal excavated by king Nanda three hundred years before', as proposed by K. P. Jayaswal and Prof. R. D. Banerji (*JBORS*. III. 1917. pp. 425ff).
4. 'He brings into the capital from the road of Tanasuliya the canal excavated in the year 103 of king Nanda.' as repropoed by Jayaswal and Banerji in *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XX, pp. 71ff.

Now, according to K. P. Jāyaswal, the year in this passage may be taken to be the Nanda era referred to by Al-Biruni in *Tahqiq-i-Hind*. Pargiter places the accession of the first Nanda ruler approximately in B.C. 402, calculating back from the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in B.C. 322, by adding eighty years as the duration of the reign period of the nine Nanda kings. According to this estimate, the canal excavated by the Nanda king in Kalinga would be in (B.C. 402-103=) B.C. 299. But then it would be too late to ascribe the public work to any Nanda king. Even if we take the Puranic account of one hundred years as the duration of the nine Nandas (i. e. 88 years for Mahapadma Nanda and 12 years for his sons), then we reach B. C. 319 as the year of the excavation of the aqueduct, which too would not fit in the chronological scheme of ancient Indian rulers (322+100-103 = B. C. 319), since Chandragupta Maurya is believed to have ascended throne of Magadha earlier to that date.

Prof. R. D. Banerji believes that the canal may have been excavated by the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty, 103 years before the fifth year of Khāravēla's reign; viz. $103 + 5 = 108$ years before his accession. Agreeing with K. P. Jayaswal, he takes the era to be counted from B. C. 458. Hence the canal according to him, was excavated in B. C. 355, say, at least 33 years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya. Here, the learned Professor appears to have taken the figure 103 to express not the interval between Nandarāja and Khāravēla, but a date within the rule of the Nanda dynasty, which may have been reckoned from some pre-existing era. But use of any such era in any particular part of the country or epoch is not proved. Khāravēla himself, like Aśoka, uses regnal years and not any era.

Dr. Raychaudhari⁵¹, on the other hand, suggests that the interpretation of *ti-vasa-sata* accords substantially with the Puranic tradition regarding the interval between the Nandas and the dynasty to which Sātakarni, the contemporary of Khāravēla, in his second regnal year, belonged (i. e. 137 years for the Mauryas, 112 years for the Śungas and 45 years for the Kāṇvas), say 294 years. If the expression is taken to mean 103 years, Khāravēla's accession must be placed (103—5 = 98 years after Nandarāja. His elevation to the position of Yuvarāja took place nine years before that (i. e. 98—9 = 89 years after Nandarāja and not later than 324—89 =) B. C. 235. Khāravēla's senior partner in the royal office was on the throne at that time, and he may have had his predecessor or predecessors. But we learn from the Asokan inscriptions that Kalinga was actually governed at that time by a Maurya Kumāra, and not by a Kalingādhipati or a Chakravarti, under the suzerainty of Aśoka. Therefore, *ti-vasa-sata* may be understood to mean 300 years and not 103 years. Dr. D. C. Sircar⁵² also holds that there is no doubt that three hundred years has been used in the well known Indian way of reckoning by hundred, illustrated so often in early Indian literature.

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal himself had accepted this interpretation, as already mentioned, but identified Nandarāja with Nandivardhana, so that Pushyamitra and Khāravēla were placed as contemporaries. But Nandi-var dhana was a Śaiśunāga king and had nothing to do with Kalinga. It was Mahāpadma Nanda, who is described in the Purāṇas to have brought 'all under his sole sway', and who 'uprooted all Kshatriyas'. So Nandarāja of our inscription may be identified with Mahāpadma Nanda, who could not have reigned beyond (accession of Chandragupta Maurya in B. C. 321, plus 12 years as reign period of the 8 sons of Mahāpadma Nanda, say in) B. C. 334. Therefore, incident of extending the aqueduct, three hundred years after Nandarāja, took place near about B. C. 33. The mention of a round figure of three hundred years, which is a conventional form of expression, may not be taken too literally. Taking into consideration Khāravēla's contemporaneity with Sātakarni, as already hinted at, we may fix Khāravēla's accession to the throne of Kalinga in about B. C. 25. We may, therefore, draw up a tentative table of his approximate chronology with 25 B. C. as the starting point :

Birth	25	16	8	=	49 B. C.
Yuvarāja	—	15	8	=	33 B. C.
Rājya-abhisheka				=	25 B. C.

But it may be argued against the above date that if we are to understand 300 years by *ti-vasa sata*, then it would be obligatory upon us to take the phrase *terasa vasa-sata*, occurring in line 11 of the Hāthigumpha inscription,⁵³ as denoting 1300 years and not 113 years as proposed by K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji in their translation of the passage: "He (Khāravēla) thoroughly breaks up the Confederacy of the Tramira (Dramira) countries of 113 (1300) years, which has been a source of danger to (his) country (Janapapa).⁵⁴ But a confederacy of rulers as old as 1300 year at the eve of the Christian era may be just unthinkable.

51. *PHAI*, pp. 229 ff.

52. *Imperial Unity*, 1961, Bombay, Chap. XLII, p. 216.

53. Original :—जनपद भावनं च तेरस-वस-सत-कतं मिदन्ति त्रमिर-दह (?) संवातं ।

54. *Ep. Ind* Vol XX, pp. 71 ff.

Circumstantial Evidences

Palaeography

Now, coming to the circumstantial evidences, we should first examine the palaeography of the Hāthigumphā inscription, and see whether we are able to fix its date on that basis.

The decided opinion of scholars on palaeography places the Hāthigumphā record probably later than the Nānāghāt inscriptions, and certainly later than the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodorus.⁵⁵ Mr. R. P. Chanda has suggested as many as seven stages in the evolution of the Brāhmi letter-forms from the Edicts of Asoka to the Sānchi Gateway Inscriptions;—the sixth being represented by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, and the fifth by the Besanagar Garuḍa Pillar inscription of Mahārāja Bhāgwat, the Nanaghat inscription of Nāyanikā, the widow of Sātakarṇi, and the Bharhut Eastern Gateway Inscription of Dhanabhūti, taken in a chronological order⁵⁶.

Prof. R. D. Banerji,⁵⁷ while disagreeing with the views of Mr. Chanda in regard to certain points, admits, after a detailed examination that the Nanaghat inscriptions show the use of a very large number of Kshatrapa or early Kushaṇa forms side by side with older ones. According to Prof. E. J. Rapson⁵⁸ the form of the *akṣhar* 'da' found in the Nanaghat record resembles that of a coin-lenged which is assignable to the first or second Century B. C. Buhler⁵⁹ also observes that the characters of the Nanaghat inscriptions belong to a period anterior to about one hundred years to that of the edicts of the Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi and of his son Pulumāyī. Mr. N. G. Majumdar⁶⁰ places the Nanaghat record during the period 100-75 B. C.

The signs and characters like *va*, *pa*, *da*, *cha* etc. in the Nanaghat Cave inscriptions show a decided advance over the Asokan, or for the matter, of that Śuṅga scripts. They are on way to become triangular. On these grounds and other already discussed in regard to Sātakarṇi, the Nanaghat inscriptions are to be placed in the last quarter of the first century B. C. So the Hāthigumphā inscription, which, as we have seen is slightly later than or contemporaneous with the Nanaghat inscriptions, cannot be earlier than the first century B. C., probably the last quarter of it.

Titles 'Mahārāja' and 'Chakravarty'

The titles *Mahārāja* and *Chakravarty* as used in Khāravela's own and his Chief Queen's inscriptions, respectively, may also point towards a late date of the Hāthigumphā inscription. Undoubtedly, we find the word *Mahārāja* 'a great king' frequently referred to in the Brāhmaṇas⁶¹, and the regular *abhiṣhek*

55. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inss.* p. 206.

56. *MAI.*, Vol. I, pp. 16-15; *IHQ*, 1929, pp. 601 ff.

57. *MSB*, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 145.

58. *Catalogue of Anāhra Coins*, p. 1XXVII.

59. *ASW.* Vol. V, p. 65.

60. *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I, Pt. IV, p. 277.

61. *Āitṛeya*, vii, 34, 9; *Kaushitaki*, v, 5; *Satapatha*, i, 6, 4, 21; ii, 5, 4, 9; *Bṛihadaranyaka Upanishad*, ii, 1, 19; *Maitrani Upanishad*, ii, 1, etc. *Qtd. Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 27.

of a *Chakravarty* monarch, otherwise called the *Aindrī-Mahāvisheka* has been referred to in the *Śatapatha* and the *Aitreya Brāhmaṇas*,⁶² Yet there are but a few instances to show that such titles were in use posterior to the Buddhist period, which is generally taken as the beginning of historic period in India. *Mhāpadma Nanda* has been called 'Sarva-kshatrāntaka' and 'Ekarāṭa' which are more qualitative terms than titles. Even Emperor *Asoka*, who was master of practically entire India, did not use titles, but remained contented by the use of the terms *Devānaṃ priya* and *priyadarsirājā*. But in the case of *Khāravela*, we may not be far wrong in concluding that the use of titles was much in line with those of the later Greeks, who sometimes used long and bombastic epithets like 'Basileos Basileon Megalos, Mahārājasa rajatirajasa mahatasa; Basileos Dikaioy Nikepheroy, Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa' and so on. The dynastic title *Mahā Meghavāhanā* viz. one whose vehicle is the magnificent elephant' i. e. like god *Indra*, might also indicate towards the same conclusion. Here *Khāravela* has probably identified himself with gods and not with 'Beloved of the gods' just like *Asoka*.

Dr. D. C. Sircar⁶³ also maintains : 'His (*Khāravela*'s) title *Mahārāja* which like *Mahārājādhirāja*, seems to have been inspired and popularised by the foreign rulers of India, and was first used by the Indo-Greeks in the first half of the second Century B. C., suggests a later date. A king of *Kalinga*, far away from the sphere of influence of foreign rulers, could have assumed it only at a later period.'

Kāvya Style

The entire inscription of *Khāravela* is written in prose, rhythmic prose abounding in alliterations, elegant expressions, and balanced sentences, clauses and phrases. In reading the inscriptions which stand in the names of Emperor *Khāravela* and his Chief Queen, one cannot but be tempted to make out verses in them. Their diction is metrical prose without revealing the actual process of verification. It appears ornamental.

In the main text of *Khāravela*'s inscription, we find that the effect of rhythm is heightened by mathematical progression of the volumes of sound, and that the main statement commences from the point where the climax is reached. In such a text as this, the verbs are bound to be sparingly used, and a rhythming process is bound to play its part as will be evident from the following quotation :—

"Aireṇa mahārājena, mahāmeghavāhana, cheta-rāja-vasanena, pasatha-subha-lakhanena, chaturānta-rakhana-guṇa-upetena, kalingadhipatinā-siri-khāravēṇa, pandarasa-vasāni, siri-kaḍāra-sariravatā-kiḍitā, kumāra-kiḍikā"

Dr. B. M. Barua⁶⁴ opines that the inscription is not the prose style of the Pāli *Tipiṭaka*, nor that of earlier portions of the *Jaina Āgamas*, nor that of the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas*, older *Upanishads*, *Kalpanūtras*, *Niruktas*, and *Prātisākyas*. So far as its prose style goes, it stands out, in point of time, as a notable landmark in the literary history of India.

62. *Hindu Polity* by K. P. Jayaswal, Pt. II. p. 27

63. *Imperial Unity*, 1951. pp. 215 ff.

64. O. B. I. 1929, Cal. p. 172.

Taking the rhythmic prose style of the Hāthigumphā inscription into consideration, we may not be far wrong in concluding that it not only shows an improved but also a very new and advanced style compared to the simple and blank writings of the Asokan edicts, and this notable difference is not that of place but is that of time. We may ascribe a period of two centuries to this, and place the Khāravela's inscription in the last quarter of the first century B. C.

Śisūpālagarh Excavations

The excavations at Śisūpālagarh do not help us much in fixing the date of Khāravela, yet its evidences may not be of mean importance.

The possibility of ruins of Śisūpālagarh (Lit. Śisūpāla fort), representing the site of Kalinga-nagar, has been put forward by Śrī B. B. Lal.⁶⁵ Though the Hāthigumphā inscription does not say anything about the distance and even direction of the city of Kalinga from the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri hills, yet it may be surmised that it could be situated somewhere in the neighbourhood; and in that, claim of Śisūpālagarh may be considered. According to the inscription, Kalinga-nagar was provided with fortifications, and king Khāravela repaired the gateway and fortification-wall which had been damaged by a storm. Now, no fortified town of comparable date except Śisūpālagarh is known to exist near-about the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri hills. Secondly, the excavations did reveal a collapse and subsequent repair of the southern gateway-flank of the fortification⁶⁶.

The excavations revealed that the defences (fortification-wall) did not come into being with the first occupation dated between c. 300-200 B. C.⁶⁷ But what particular circumstances led to this construction, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge, though the moment must have been a remarkable one in the history of the site.

A cutting across the defences has been divided into four main phases :—⁶⁸

1. In the earlist phase, the defences consists of a massive clayrampart over 25 ft. high at this point and 10 ft. wide at the base. On the top of the rampart wall occurred a series of roughly circular holes, each about a foot deep and 10 inches wide arranged at regular intervals of 1' 10". They were found packed with laterite gravel and covered with a thin layer of clay. Their exact purpose is indeed difficult to determine without further evidence. This earliest phase of the defences has been dated in the first quarter of the second century B. C.
2. During the second phase, a 4—6 ft. thick layer of laterite gravel was added on to the top of the clay rampart. Such a feature was also noticed at the western gateway and elsewhere in the sections of some of the monsoon-gullies round the periphery. The phase does not seem to have been a long-lived one.

⁶⁵ 'Ancient India,' Vol. V., pp. 66 ff.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 74.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

3. The third phase witnessed a change in the make up of the defences. Two brick walls, 26 ft. apart and 2' 6" and 3' 6" thick respectively were built at the top of the laterite gravel and the space between them was filled up with mud and earth. Towards the interior of the fort and also on the outside can be seen the builder's ramp, 3 to 4 ft. thick, which also helped to retain the brick walls. In course of time, more material, including brick-bats, was added to these ramps to hold the walls vertical. The phase seems to have come to an end about the middle of the first century B. C.
4. Phase fourth does not seem to have immediately followed the phase third.

Taking the above into consideration (provided we identify Śiāupālagarh with Kalinga-nagar of the Inscription), our immediate conclusion is that Khāravēla cannot be ascribed an earlier date since the defences were constructed during a late period. Hence phase second or third might represent the age of Khāravēla. But phase second was a short lived, and it is possible that the defences gave way just at the close of this phase or the beginning of the next, so that Khāravēla, who was possibly the ruler of the city, repaired them by adding brick-walls and also builder's-ramp to retain them already referred to in that phase. Khāravēla, hence, may be placed as late as close of the first century B. C.

Absence of Coins

The fact that no coins of Khāravēla have come down to us far, needs some cool consideration. We know from the various hoards found, that Sātākarni (Sātavāhanas) issued coins. Coins of some Brihaspatimitra are also forthcoming, though his identification as already shown with the one of Khāravēla's inscription is not certain. Though we are not on a safer ground in the identification of the Yavanarāja, yet we can be more or less sure that even if he is later king to Demetrius, he must have issued coins in his name. In this way, we find that practically all the contemporaries of Khāravēla issued coins. But why not Khāravēla?

Dr. S. L. Katare suggests : "We know that none of the Maurya rulers issued coins in his name, so also perhaps the Śuṅgas. The only coins rather the earliest, found circulated in ancient India, are the so called punch-marked coins. The same were used in the Śuṅga period. Can we infer from this that the same were continued by Khāravēla also? If so, then I shall place Khāravēla nearer to the period of the Mauryas and Śuṅgas and not very far removed from them."⁶⁹

As a matter of course, we should have no difficulty in accepting Dr. Katare's suggestion. But the possibility of existence of Khāravēla's coins cannot be ruled out entirely. There have been no excavations worth the name in that part of the country. Future excavations might yield some evidence. Secondly, surmising that Khāravēla also issued punch-marked coins, and hence he may be placed nearer to the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas, may not be acceptable, since we find that the use of punch-marked coins did not

stop in the second century B. C., but continued for a much longer period. Dr. Bhandarkar⁷⁰ has equated punch-marked coins with Kārshāpanas, so frequently mentioned in ancient Indian Literature. And there are references to it traceable in the western Indian Cave Inscriptions of the Sātavāhana period. At Besnagar, Dr. Bhandarkar had found punch-marked coins on all sites containing stratas reaching down to the fourth century A. D.⁷¹ Later on the Bṛhaspati and the Kātyāyana Smritis refer to *Andika* as another name for Kārshāpana, which can be dated in the seventh century A. D.. An inscription originally found at Bijapur⁷² in Jodhapur State and dated A. D. 997, while recording the benefactions to a Jaina temple, speaks of a grant of one *Kārsha* for every *ghaḍā* (earthen pot) at every local oil-mill. The Gaya stone inscription of the Pāla king, Govindapāla⁷³ dated V. E. 1232 (A. D. 1175) makes a mention of Kārshāpani.

Silver and copper punch-marked coins have been found in the Śisupālagarh excavations.⁷⁴ The silver coin of the square punch-marked variety, with a known reverse type⁷⁵ and a new combination of obverse symbols, was found in an early level of period II B dated in the first century A. D. It has already been much worn out by circulation when it was buried.

The copper punch-marked coins have been divided into two distinct groups. The first group comprises nine rectangular uninscribed coins, of which three came from the earliest coin bearing strata of this excavation, viz, the upper layer of period II A attributable to c. 50-100 A. D. The same number of coins were found in the early levels of period II A, datable to C. 100-125 A. D., while the remaining three were obtained from latter deposits. Of a total of nine coins of this group, the five legible ones bear designs occurring on the copper punch-marked coins from Eran⁷⁶ in the Saugar district. These appear to have been manufactured either at Eran or under the inspiration of the Eran coinage.

Apart from coins, the most noteworthy finds include two coins-moulds one complete disc and the other fragmentary, both of punch-marked coins. They are made of grey-ware pottery and are much worn out, presumably by repeated casting operations. They have been found in layers attributable to the third century A. D. (rather too late to be placed in the epoch of Khāravela), but these confirm to the fact that punch-marked coins continued to be minted and were in circulation in Orissa at least as late as the third century A. D..

70. *The Carmichael Lecture on Ancient India Numismatics*, Cal, 1921, p. 94 & 95.

71. *Ibid.* p. 185.

72. *Ep. Ind.* X, pp. 24 & 26-7.

73. *Palas of Bengal*, p. 109.

74. Described by K. Deva, *Ancient India*, Vol. V, pp. 95-96

75. J. Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, 1936, pp. l xi & 28-36 Plate 1.3, and 6.7

76. *Ibid.* p. XVIII, 7-22

Therefore, while supposing that Punch-marked coins⁷⁷ might have been issued by Khāravela, it is not obligatory to place him nearer to the period of the Mauryas and the Śūngas simply on that ground.

Art & Architecture in the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri

In the absence of any definite date in the Hāthigumphā record or in that of Khāravela's Queen, and of his successor in the Māñohapuri cave, we should endeavour to determine the age of these monuments from other sources of information.

Sir John Marshall⁷⁸ fixing the chronology of the caves wrote:—'Of the whole series, the oldest is the Hāthigumpha, a natural cavern englarged by artificial cutting, on which is engraved the Khāravela's inscription.' The next cave fixed in chronological position is the mañchapuri. It possesses two storeys, the lower consisting of a pillared verandah with chambers hollowed out at the end. It is in the upper storey of this cave that the inscription of Khāravela's Queen is incised, while in the lower are short records stating that the main and side chambers were the works, respectively, of Vakradeva (Vakadepa siri or Kudepasini) the successor apparently of Khāravela and of prince Vaḍukha.

It may be presumed, therefore, that the upper storey is the earlier of the two. The rail pattern which once adorned the broad band of rock between the two storeys is now all obliterated, but in the ground floor verandah is a well-preserved frieze which confirms by its style what the inscriptions might otherwise lead us to suppose, namely, that next to the Hāthigumphā, this was the most ancient cave in the two groups. Compared with some of the reliefs of the sculptures in the locality, they are of poor coarse workmanship, but in the depth of the relief and plastic treatment of the figures, they evince a decided advance on the work of Bharhut, and unless it be that sculptures, in this part of the country, had undergone an earlier and independent development, it is safe to affirm that they are considerably posterior to the sculptures of Bharhut.

77. As already mentioned, Dr. A. S. Altekar has published a counter-struck coin of Brihasratimitra II (*JNSI*, Vol IV, p. 143, Pl. XII. No. 24) with the following description:—

Obv : In the centre tree within the railing counterstruck with the symbol of a V—topped banner with two-pronged to right enclosed in a railing of two storeys. To left Ujjain symbol below and a V—topped banner above. To right a wavy line, below, the remnants of the original legend Bahasatimita (letters *timita* completely wiped out by the lower portion of the counterstruck symbol. Letters *baha*—are quite clear in the plate and the concluding *as* is faintly visible.)

Rev : Completely blurred.

Metal copper, roughly circular, 6" in diameter, 46.3 grains, diestruck, found at Kosambi.

Here, it is Brihaspatimitra's coin that has been restruck, and that too with a symbol which, in some shape or the other, is found in the Hathigumpha inscription. Can we conclude that it was counter-struck by Kharavela?

78. *OHI*, Vol. I, pp. 638-42.

Stella Kramrisch writing on the art in the Udayagiri-Khandagiri caves says⁷⁹: "The style of the Mañchapuri cave reliefs puts them right at the beginning of artistic activities in the rock-cut caves of Orissa. Here the figures are animated considerably. This animation, playful and purposeless in the Gana-figures, is enhanced into energetic speed in the onrush of the Gandharva-figures. The transition from the static squareness of the Maurya figures to linear vitality is marked here as well as in Bharhut. But there the movement is of a hesitating grace, and reverential, whereas here it is not only variegated in speed and expressions, but is altogether more intense, untouched almost by any scruples of the religious mind. The craftsmanship is mediocre. The way in which the movement is enhanced from the kneeling bent right leg of the flying figure to the raised and cut-stretched left in order to culminate in the graceful diagonal of the ends of the scarves is contrasted with the playful hovering of the *ganās* with their enlarged, rounded and inarticulate limbs. Altogether, the anatomy of the figures is more suppressed even than in Bharhut in favour of an all-round smoothness of limbs. This plasticity of limbs is subservient to an easy flow of movements. It gains in liveliness by addressing itself directly to the spectator, whereas the Bharhut figures, unconcerned about his presence, enacted their parts, intensely absorbed by them and by their own existence; the figures of superhuman-beings, of men and animals alike, address the spectator in three-quarter profile, so to say, or else they turn their faces in full front-view towards him. Yet in spite of forcefulness and agitation, the work on the Mañchapuri—the earliest in so far as artistic activities are concerned, came with its halting and economical way as far as spacing and description go belong to the diapason of Indian sculpture in the second century B. C.; whereas the direct emotional appeal, liveliness of gesture, and smoothness of limbs belong to a somewhat later period and are fully developed in the first century B. C. (cf. the relief in Mahabodhi and Sanchi) and destined to become and more and more emphasized in the work of the other caves.

Prof. N. N. Ghosh⁸⁰ opines that the Bharhut sculptured gateway bearing an inscription is about a century later than the time of Pushyamitra Śuṅga i.e. about the first quarter of the first century B. C. Hence, Khāravela could not have flourished in the second century B. C.

Looking to all the evidences enumerated above, we have to conclude that Khāravela did not flourish in the second century B. C., and hence, must be assigned a date in the first century B. C., preferably the last quarter of it.

⁷⁹. *OBI*, pp. 307ff.

⁸⁰. *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 1943, PP. 109-116; and *B. C. Law Memorial Volume I*, pp. 210-18.

A PEEP INTO THE DARK PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF ORISSA.

By Sri S. C. De

The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela is rather enigmatical, because it is a complete inscription containing account of only 14 years' reign of the Emperor Kharavela of Kalinga. We have no further inscription to show that Kharavela's reign continued thereafter. On the other hand, it is difficult to presume that Kharavela's career was cut short at the age 38 years after the fourteenth year of his reign. It is not improbable that some subsequent records of the king or his successors might have been lost with the caves that have gone out of existence. So, under the circumstances any conjecture about the course of events subsequent to those recorded in the Hathigumpha inscription will not be justifiable. From two other inscriptions of Udayagiri hill we know that one of the successors of Kharavela, probably his son, was Kadamba read also as Kudepa or Vakadepa who is styled as '*Mahārāja Mahāmegha-vāhanī*'. He is also taken to be the father of Kharavela, but in view of the fact that 117 caves were excavated by the king, queens, his sons and courtiers in the Udayagiri (Kumārī) hill, Vakradeva or Kūdepa appears more likely to be the son than father of Kharavela¹. Another member of the royal family was Baḍukha or Barikha, who might be the son of Kadampa or Kūdepa.

After the short glorious period of Kharavela's reign, darkness descends on Orissan History till about the middle of the 3rd century A. D. This is entirely a blank period in the History of Orissa. Recent researches however have brought to light some facts relating to the Orissan History in the 3rd 4th century A. D., and with their help, the history of the period can be tentatively reconstructed for the present.

From the story of the Buddha' tooth-relic, Dāṭhāvamsa,² we come to know of the following facts.

1. *The History and Culture of the Indian people*, p. 212.

2. Law, *Dāthavamsa*, (Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, 1925).

(1) Guhasīva, king of Kalinga was a follower of Buddhism and worshipped the Buddha's tooth-relic with great devotion.

(2) He was subordinate to a king called Paṇḍu of Pataliputra.

(3) Kalinga was threatened with attack by a king of Khīradbhāra who had attacked Paṇḍu and was defeated. His object was to take away the tooth relic by force.

(4) The tooth-relic was sent to Ceylon for safe custody by Guhasīva to his friend Mahāsena, the king of Ceylon, through Danta-Kumāra, a prince of Ujjain, who had come to Kalinga to worship the tooth-relic and was married to Hemamālā, the daughter of Guhasīva.

(5) The relic reached Ceylon in the 9th year of the reign of Kittisirimegha, the son of Mahāsena and *Dāḷhāvamsa* was written on that occasion, and was completed in the year 310 (Malasekhara, *Pali Literature in Ceylon*, p. 65, Law, *Dāḷhāvamsa*, Introduction, p. VI).

Now we are to examine if the above facts from the mythology relating to Buddha's tooth-relic contain some historical truths.

According to Buddhist traditions, tooth-relic was originally worshipped in Kalinga, whose ancient capital, Dantapura, is taken to have been named in honour of that relic. So we may not be far from truth to presume that originally tooth-relic belonged to Kalinga and subsequently it was removed to Ceylon. That tooth-relic was worshipped in Ceylon in the first decade of the 5th century A. D. cannot be denied on the evidence of the Chinese traveller Fa-Hien who has left a detailed description about the tooth-relic festival in his account.³ Since we are certain that tooth relic was in Ceylon by the close of the 4th century A. D. it must have been sent there sometimes before the 5th century A. D.

The tooth-relic, according to the tradition, reached Ceylon in the 9th year of Kittisirimegha,⁴ i. e. 310 A. D.,⁵ and the *Dalaḍāvamsa* in Elu was composed on that occasion. So this date is in accord with our assumption that the relic was sent to Ceylon before 5th century A. D.. But the exact dates for Mahāsena and Kittisirimegha are not available. The dates of accession of Mahāsena and Kittisirimegha respectively calculated by different scholars are 334 and 362 A. D.,⁶ 277 and 304 A. D.,⁷ 337 and 364 A. D., and 331 and 358 A. D.⁸ According to Smith, Siri Meghavanna ruled from 352-370 A. D.⁹ According to the date accepted by Kern relating to composition of *Dalaḍāvamsa* in 310 A. D., the 9th year of Kittisirimegha's accession comes to 302 A. D. In the midst of these confusing dates it is not possible to say with any degree of certainty when Kittisirimegha succeeded his father, or how long Mahāsena ruled. According to the mythology, Guhasīva was contemporary of Mahāsena and Siri Meghavanna of Ceylon, and was under the king Paṇḍu of Pataliputra.

3. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of Southern India*, pp. 71-72.

4. *Dathavamsa*, Ch. V, Verse 1.

5. *Ibid*, Introduction, p. VI.

6. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Genealogy.

7. Sewell and Aiyangar, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 330.

8. Smith, *Early History of Ancient India*, p. 303.

Siri Meghavanna was contemporary of Samudragupta. That Guha had ceased to rule by the time of Samudragupta is evident from the fact his name is not mentioned as a king of any of the principalities of Kalinga conquered by Samudragupta in whose time Kalinga had been divided into a number of states.

According to Puranas, Guha was ruling over Kalinga, Mahendra and Mahisha, while the Guptas were ruling over 'territories along the Ganges, viz. Prayaga (Allahabad), Saketa (Oudh), and Magadha (South Bihar)'.⁹ So, we find that Guha was ruling contemporaneously with Guptas, but prior to the southern campaign of Samudragupta. So he was probably contemporary with Chandragupta I. But according to the mythology, he was a vassal of the King Paṇḍu, not of Chandragupta I. We shall come to identification of Paṇḍu later on, but for the present, it may be assumed that he was other than Chandragupta I. In that case, we have to take that Guha was originally under Paṇḍu but towards the eve of the rise of the Guptas he became independent; hence, he is described as an independent king ruling over Mahendra (Ganjam District of Orissa, Samāpā of Asoka's time) Kalinga (from the borders of Ganjam upto Godavari) and Mahisa, or Mahisamati (Mandhata on Narmadā).¹⁰

As we have seen before, the dates for the kings of Ceylon, Mahāsena, and his son, Kittisirimegha, are uncertain as yet. If we take the early dates that is, 277-301 for Mahāsena and 304-322 A. D. for Kittisirimegha, it will almost fit in with the dates of composition of *Dāhāvamsa*, and Guha will be contemporary of the above two Ceylonese kings. But then, he would not be taken to be ruling contemporaneously with the Guptas, since, according to the mythology, he died fighting against the invaders, the sons and nephews of Kharadhāra, the king of a neighbouring kingdom after he despatched the tooth-relic to Ceylon. So he died about the year 302 or 303 A. D..

On the other hand, if we accept later dates for Mahāsena, that is, 334-367, 331-357 or 337-361, as noted above, we cannot take that Guha was contemporary of both Mahāsena and Kittisirimegha, in view of the fact that by the time of Samudragupta's Southern campaign (C. 347-A. D.). Guha had already ceased to rule and his kingdom had been dismembered. The date of arrival of the tooth-relic in Ceylon in the 9th year of Kittisirimegha in about 310 A. D., as assumed by Kern, will also not agree with the date.

In this confusing situation we can hardly reconcile the facts. We may say this much that Guhasiva, the king of Kalinga was originally a vassal of one Paṇḍu, king of Pataliputra, sometimes before the rise of the Gupta, that is about the period from 310-320 A.D. he became independent; his kingdom was invaded by one neighbouring king with the object of taking away the tooth-relic; Guha sent the tooth relic to his friend, Mahāsena, king of Ceylon; he died fighting with the invader; his kingdom was dismembered after his death and that he ruled probably in the first half of the 4th century A. D., probably not beyond 340 A. D.

9. Pargiter, *Dynasties of Kalinga*, pp. 53-54; Raychoudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 416.

10. *PHAI* (1938), p. 122-424.

11. Smith, *MHI* p. 345.

Now we may come to the difficult problem of the identification of Paṇḍu of Pataliputra, the overlord of Guhasīva. He was not evidently a Gupta ruler, nor do we find any such name among the rulers of Pataliputra in the 2nd, 3rd or 4th century A. D.. It is not yet definitely known who ruled Pataliputra in the 3rd century A. D. It is believed that the Saka-Murunda were ruling over Pataliputra in the 3rd century A. D.¹² So Paṇḍu may be a Saka-Murunda king ruling over Pataliputra before the rise of the Guptas.

This presumption is corroborated by the following facts. In the period 245-50 A. D. Emperor of China sent an Embassy to Funan (Cambodia). There they met Chen-Song, one of the members of the Indian embassy to Funan, and asked him about the customs of India. In reply Chen-song informed the Chinese Ambassador that India was a country where the law of Buddha prospered. The people were straight-forward, and the land was very fertile. The title of the king was Meou-loun. He also gave some description of the royal city.¹³

Though the name of the king is not given, the title Meou-loun, according to Prof. Sylvain Lévi, is the name of a race in ancient India—the Murunda. He also quotes a Jaina work which names Pataliputra as the residence of Murunda-rāja. This agrees with Ptolemy's description of the Maroundai on the left bank of the Ganges to the north of the river Sarabos or Sarayu. Murunda are mentioned in the Purāṇas; Vayu states that they ruled for 350 years. Murunda are mentioned in the Samudragupta's—Allahabad inscription.¹⁴ On the basis of all these evidences we can, at least, presume for the present that the Saka-Murunda were ruling over Pataliputra from about the middle of the 3rd century A. D. till the beginning of the 4th century A. D., and Paṇḍu was probably a Murunda king. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot say under what circumstances Guhasīva, the king of Kalinga became a vassal of the Murunda king of Pataliputra as recorded in the mythology. But on the basis of some evidences discussed below we can presume with some amount of certainty that there was Saka or Saka-Murunda conquest of Orissa sometimes in the 3rd or 4th century A. D.

The evidences referred to above are :

(a) Find of large hoards of Kushan and Puri-Kushan coins all over Orissa.

(b) Find of Kushan, Puri-Kushan coins and also a proto-Kushan gold coin at Sisupalgarh during excavation.

(c) Find of a clay seal at Sisupalgarh recording the name of a minister, Prasannaka in Brāhmi script of about 3rd and 4th century A. D.

(d) Find of colossal Nāga images at Bhubaneswar betraying some affinity to Kushan type of sculpture.

The find of large hoards of imitation Kushan coins in Bihar and Orissa has given rise to much speculation among the scholars. Some think that those

12. *Ibid*, p. 291; *PAHI*, p. 335.

13. Chatterji, *Indian Influence in Cambodia*, pp. 17-18.

14. *Ibid*, pp. 18-19.

coins were brought by pilgrims as offering to gods, while some take it as evidence of Kushan conquest of Orissa, or, think that they were brought into Bihar and Orissa in 2nd or 3rd century or later to make up for the shortage of copper coins during the Gupta period.¹⁵

One thing is worth noticing about the find-spots of these coins in so far as they relate to Bihar and Orissa. The coins have been found in Chotanagpur region, in Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and the coastal region from Balasore southwards till Ganjam. If we remember the probable route of Samudragupta on the occasion of his Deccan campaign, we would not be inclined to take the finds as sporadic ones. I quote here from Smith's *Early History of India* (p. 300), the portion referring to Samudra Gupta's campaign. 'The invader, marching due south from the capital, through Chutia Nagpur, directed first his attack against the kingdom of South Kosala in the valley of Mahanadi, and overthrew its king, Mahendra. Passing on, he subdued all the chiefs of the forest countries, which still retain their wilderness and constitute the tributary states of Orissa and then backward parts of the Central Provinces. x x x Still advancing southwards by east coast roads Samudra Gupta vanquished the chieftain who held Pishtapura, the ancient capital Kalinga, now Pithapuram in the Godavari district as well as the hill fortress of Mahendragiri and Kottura in Ganjam whose territory lay on the banks of the Kotteru (Colair) lake³.'

Thus, according to Smith, Samudragupta came to Chotanagpur region from Pataliputra, then conquered South Kosala and the chieftains of the jungle region now comprised in western hilly tracts of Orissa, emerged on the sea-coast and moved along the coast southwards passing through Ganjam.

Though there is some divergence of opinion about the location of Mahākāntāra, it is fairly certain that Samudragupta conquered South Kosala comprising the region covered by the modern districts of Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur. Then he passed through jungle region which most probably included the hilly regions of Orissa in the ex-States of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. His route to Ganjam and farther south, most probably, was along the sea-coast, as suggested by Smith.

I may note here that when Firuz-Shah invaded Orissa in 1360 A. D. he proceeded from Jaunpur, crossed Singhbhum and Manbhum, passed through Mayurbhanj, and then reaching the coast, he proceeded towards Cuttack¹⁶, Husen Shah, the Sultan of Jaunpur who invaded Orissa about 1458-59 A. D. came from Jaunpur via Tirhut, then crossed Chotanagpur and probably proceeded towards Bamra via Gangpur.¹⁷

From these evidences it appears that there were land-routes connecting Bihar and Orissa which passed through Chotanagpur of modern Bihar and the hilly tracts of Orissa comprising Sambalpur, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj districts of Orissa and then the route lay along the coast to the south and also probably to the north.

15. *I H Q*, pp. 210-20

16. *JASB*, Vol. VIII (1942), pp. 58-59.

17. *OHRJ* Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 53-54

The find of the Kushan and proto Kushan coins in Chotnagpur, along this probable route is very significant. That shows the course of the coins to Orissa, whether by infiltration as the result of shortage of small coins, or in consequence of an invasion along this route.

We have mainly three theories explaining the presence of coins in such abundance in the areas noted above. The suggestion that pilgrims might have brought the coins does not appear convincing for the following reasons. We are not yet certain if by 3rd century A. D. Lord Jagannath had attained such celebrity as to attract large number of pilgrims from upper India. Even if we take that pilgrims were coming in large numbers, we would not except the coins in the Ganjam regions, or only one type of coin. So this theory does not explain the position.

The other theory that the Kushan coins infiltrated into Bihar and Orissa from Kanyakubja and Mathura by way of trade and the people used them in absence of their own coinage in the 2nd or 3rd century, or even after that and imitation coins were issued to make up the shortage of coins also does not appear convincing. We have discussed elsewhere¹⁷ about the cowry currency in ancient India. The common folk in ancient and medieval India and even till the British came, was not much used to coins. The cowry shells constituted the main currency for the common and poorer folk, while coins, whether of gold, silver or copper, were restricted to the richer class. Had coins been used freely by all the people as in the present day, we could have found hundreds and thousands of coins all over the country. Then again, why should we expect only one type of coin, if coins were imported from upper India to make up the shortage of currency. So the idea that the coins were imported or minted to make up for the shortage of copper coins does not also explain the situation,

So we have to fall back on the last theory, that is, Kushan conquest of Orissa and examine whether we can accept it.

According to a tradition recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the temple chronicle of Lord Jagannath, Orissa was invaded in the 4th century A. D. by a *Yavana* king, named *Raktabahu* with the intention of taking away Lord Jagannath.¹⁸ R. D. Banerji took the statement as referring to Kushan invasion of Orissa.¹⁹ So the tradition supports such an assumption.

According to the mythology under discussion, *Guhāsiva*, king of *Kalinga* was under *Paṇḍu*, the king of *Pataliputra*, whom we have taken to be a *Saka-Muruṇḍa* king as discussed above. If the assumption be correct, it will explain the presence of Kushan and imitation-Kushan coins which were probably issued by the *Saka-Muruṇḍa* rulers, the successors of the *Kushanas*.

17. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, no. I, pp. I ff.

18. Stirling, *An account of Orissa proper, or Cuttack*, pp. 67-68.

19. Banerji *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 113.

During Sisupalgarh excavation one coin of Kanishka, one of Huvishka and four Puri-Kushan coins, all copper, and one proto-Kushan gold coin were unearthed. Coin of Kanishka was recovered from the level of period II A (200 B. C.—100 A. D.), and of Huvishka, from the level of the period II B (100-200 A. D.). The gold coin is of peculiar type. The standing figure on the obverse side is a copy of the figure on the coin of Kushan king, Vasudeva, while, the head on the reverse side is of the type found on Roman Imperial Coins. Prof. Alterkar who examined the coin read the Brahmi legend on the obverse side as (ma) (hara) ja-ra (ja) dhasa Dharamadamadhara (sa). He attributed it to 3rd Century A. D. He took the coin to belong to a Murunda King who probably ruled over a portion of Bihar and also Orissa. He says, king Dharmadamadhara might have ruled over parts of Bihar and Orissa and felt justified in issuing coins bearing imperial Kushan title.²⁰ So the coin is ascribable to the same period as we assign to Guhasiva, and it also supports our identification of Paṇḍu, the king of Pataliputra, as a Saka-Murunda King.

An oblong small clay seal with a Pali inscription on one side of it was discovered at the Sisupalgarh site some years back. The script is Brahmi assignable to 3rd Century A. D. The legend rendered into Sanskrit reads 'amālyasya prasannakasya', that is, 'of the minister Prasannaka'. So we recovered from same site a seal containing the name of a minister ascribable to almost the same period as the gold coin containing the name of a king, Dharmadamadhara. It is not improbable that Prasannaka was the minister of the king Dharmadamadhara. The importance of the find of the seal lies in the fact that it is the only terracotta seal with a Brahmi legend on it. The script and language of the seal and the coin are similar and the find spot of both is same. This leads us to presume that sometimes in the last part of the 3rd century A. D. a king Dharmadamadhara was ruling at Bhubaneswar and his minister was Prasannaka by name. The coin without the seal might have been taken as a stray find, as in case of the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka found at Sisupalgarh; herein lies the real importance of the seal.

In view of this, we are now in a position to explain to some extent the find of large hoards of Kushan and imitation Kushan Coins in Orissa. Kushan Coins probably found their way to Orissa as the result of regular communication established between Orissa and upper India in consequence of Murunda rule and the imitation Kushan coins were issued by Murunda kings. H. C. Walsh supposed that there was a mint for coining of the imitation-kushan coins near the Bakha Copper mines of Bihar where a hoard of Puri-kushan coins was found.²¹ The suggestion is very acceptable; the mint must have been conveniently located near the Copper mine. An ancient copper-melting apparatus was also found there corroborating the suggestion.²² Recent archaeological finds also lend some support to the presumption of Saka-Murunda rule in Orissa. Of late, some large Naga images have been discovered in the Bhubaneswar area which betray some traits of the Kushan style of sculpture. The subject has been discussed at length by the writer elsewhere.²³

20. *Ancient India*, Vol. V, pp. 96-101.

21. *JBORS*, Vol. V, p. 73.

22. *Ibid*, pp. 150-151.

23. *OHRJ*, Vol. III, No I, pp. I ff.

Taking all these facts into consideration we feel inclined to accept the suggestion of Śaka Mūruṇḍa invasion of Orissa.

There is yet another hypothesis that Orissa was conquered by Kanishka and that Kushan rule continued till the end of the reign of Huvishka.²⁴ This hypothesis is evidently inspired by Dr. Altekar's newly-advanced theory about Kanishka's and Huvishka's rule over Bihar.²⁵ Sri P. L. Gupta, after lengthy discussion about the theory, comes to the conclusion that 'Kusana empire was extended at the most upto Kanyakubja in the east.'²⁶

However that may be, the hypothesis of conquest of Orissa by Kanishka unsupported by any evidence does not deserve serious consideration. Of course, Kushan coins of Kanishka and Huvishka have been discovered in Orissa, but it must not be forgotten that they have always been found in association with the Puri-Kushana coins, admittedly of a date later by at least one century than that of the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. No independent hoard of Kushan coins has yet been discovered. We can, by no means, imagine that in all cases the association of the Kushan and Puri-Kushan coins was accidental.

Then again, we must not forget that Gautamīputro Śātakarṇi (c. 106-130 A. D.) was the contemporary of Huvishka (106-133 A. D.) In the Nasik record of queen Gautami Balasri, he is described as the destroyer of Scythians Indo-Greeks and Parthians (*Śaka-Yavana-Pahlavanisūdana*) and the establisher of the fame of the family of Śātavāhana. He claimed suzerainty over the whole of trans-vindhyan India. 'He is described as the lord of the Vindhya, Rikshavat, Pariyatra, Sahya, Malaya, Mahendra and other mountain ranges encircling the peninsula of South India.'²⁷ So while Gautamīputra, who was particularly distinguished for his extirpation of the *Śakas Yavanas* and *Pahlavas*, and who claimed suzerainty over Mahendra, was ruling in the south, we can hardly assume Kushan rule in Orissa. It would rather be safer to assume that Orissa came under the Andhra rule during Gautamīputra's time than to conjecture that Huvishka, whose rule even as far as Pataliputra is yet doubtful, should be ruling in Orissa, while Gautamīputra was ruling supreme in the Deccan. So we can, for the present, rule out the possibility of conquest of Orissa by Kanishka or Huvishka until some conclusive evidences are forthcoming to change our view in this respect. The association of Kushan and Puri-Kushan coins points out that at a date later than that of Kanishka or Huvishka the coins were used together. The probable circumstances under which such association might have been possible have been discussed above.

One more point remains to be discussed. It is about the identification of Khiradhāra, the king who attacked Paṇḍu and whose sons and nephews attacked Kalinga. In the absence of any other detail, it is difficult to identify

24. *OHRJ*, Vol. II, No. 2.3, pp. 89-92.

25. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 121-23.

26. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, p. 212.

27. *The History and Culture of Indian People*, Vol. II, pp. 201-202.

him. It appears, his kingdom was adjoining Kalinga and was not far from Pataliputra. It is not easy to say whether his antagonism towards the king of Kalinga, or that of Pataliputra, was due to his desire for possession of the tooth-relic as described in the mythology, or it was inspired by political reasons. We are tempted to take him as a king of the Eastern Malwa or Vindhya region. May he be Pravarsena I? It is likely that he might have waged war against the Saka ruler of Pataliputra. Since Mahisa region of Kalinga adjoined his territory, and the king of Kaling was a Buddhist, he might have also invaded Kalinga. These are all conjectures, the truth of which can be ascertained only when further evidences are available.

THE DATE OF TIVARADEVA OF MAHĀKOŚALA

By Satyanarayan Rajaguru

Much attempt has already been made to fix the period of Tivaradeva of Mahākośala; but it has produced no satisfactory result uptill now, although some convincing evidences are there to solve this question. About 70 years ago A. Cunningham fixed the date of this ruler at 425 to 450 A. D.¹ After this Kielhorn suggested the middle of the 8th. century A. D. to be the period of Tivaradeva.² Palaeography, Language and Style of writing of Tivaradeva's grants are the main factors on which he based his conclusions. Fleet's view tallies with the above suggestion of Kielhorn.³

After this theory was established, Prof. V. V. Mirashi, while editing the Thakurdia plates of Mahā Pravararāja, dealt with this question, suggesting "Chandragupta, the grand-father of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, was a contemporary of Sūryavarman, and flourished probably from 550 to 570 A. D. and his elder brother Tivaradeva from 530 to 550 A. D."⁴ He stated further that Sūryavarman, father of vasaṭā, belonged to the Maukhari dynasty of Magadha. For this he cited the Haraha stone inscription from which we get the following epithet regarding Sūryavarman :—

“ मगधाधि पतयः क्षातः कुले वर्म्माणा ”

It is clear that Vāsaṭā's father was a ruler of Magadha and he belonged to the 'Varman' or the 'Maukhari' family of that kingdom. The Haraha stone inscription was incised in the Samvat 611 when Sūryavarman, father of Iśānavarman, was living. According to Prof. Mirashi this Samvat is Malava-Samvat which corresponds to 555 A. D. Prof. Mirashi held the same view while editing the Mallar plates of Maha-Śivagupta.⁵ We would have accepted this theory if the Samvat, used in the Hārahā inscription, would have

1. *A. S. R. I.*, Vol. XVII, p. 18

2. *E. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 258

3. *Ibid* Vol. III, p. 33

4. *Ibid*, Vol. XXII, p. 17

5. *Ibid*, Vol. XIV, p. 115

6. *Ibid*, Vol. XXII, p. 113

been named. Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sarma, while editing the Pipardula plates of king Narendra of Śarabhapur,⁷ followed the opinion of Mirashi and placed Tivara Deva between A. C. 500 and 550. Some scholars have also suggested that 'Tivara Deva was ruling at the time when Hiuen Tsang visited Dakṣhiṇa Kośala.' Following arguments of Sri A. Ghosh⁸ are worth mentioning :—

"A main contention of the latter set of scholars is that Sūrya Varman, the Varman king of Magadha, whose daughter Vāsaṭā, married to Harsha Gupta, the nephew of Tivara, was no other than the Maukhari of that name, who as a prince, rebuilt a temple of Śiva in A. D. 554. But this identification is doubtful for (1) it is by no means certain that the Maukhari Sūrya Varman ever came to the throne, as his name is not mentioned in the Asirgarah and Nalanda seals of the Maukharis⁹ and as no coins belonging to him have as yet been found, and (2) whereas the Sūrya Varman of the Sirpur inscription is called king of Magadha, the Maukharis of the line of Harivarman were never a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their headquarters being at Kanauja."

"It is now practically certain that the Śarabhapura line, consisting of Prasana Matra and Māna Matra, sons of Mahāsaudevarāj and Mahāpravararāja, preceded and not followed the 'Pāṇḍava' kings in South Kosala. Prof. Mirashi holds that Mahāpravararāja (who issued his Thakurdia plates from Sirpur) ruled in the first half of the 6th century and was ousted by Tivara, whom, as has been said above, he proposes to place in A. D. 530. It is, however, not possible to subscribe to this view. The Kharod Inscription of Indrabala and Isāna Deva shows that even before Tivara the Pāṇḍavas were masters of much the same area as has been held by Śarabhapura kings. The fact that Tivara Deva is the first king of his line who is known to have made Sirpur his capital does not warrant the belief that the capital of his father was situated elsewhere, as no copper plate (which alone mentions the capital as the place of the charter), belonging to them, has yet been found."

Sri Ghosh has tried to prove this date on palaeographical grounds, stating that Sūryavarman could not have been a contemporary of Harshagupta. His further contention is that "the ascription of the Bhandak inscription to a date earlier than A. D. 650, i. e. at least 50 years after the date of the Arang plates of Bhīmasena, is a palaeographical impossibility. Tivara, therefore, may be tentatively placed in the last quarter of the 7th. century A. D."¹⁰

Now, on palaeographical considerations it can be stated that all the copper plate grants issued by Tivaradeva used a peculiar type of characters known as "Box Headed". This was prevalent among the Mātharas and the Eastern Gaṅgās of Kalinga upto the time of Gaṅga-Era 80 and 87 (relating to Hastivarman and Indravarmān), and among the Vākātakas the Nalas, the Śarabhapurians and the Pāṇḍavas of Dakṣhiṇa Kosala upto the time of Tivaradeva.

7. *IHQ.*, Vol. XIX, p. 143.

8. *EI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 116.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 283.

10. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 266-70.

While writing on an unpublished India-Office Plate of the Vākātaka Mahārāja Devasena, Mr. H. N. Randle, London, says that 'the script (used in that inscription) is a typical example of the fully developed 'Box-headed' alphabet found in most Vākātaka plates, as well as in the inscriptions of other rulers, for example, the Rithapur plates of Maharaja Bhavatta-Varman".¹¹ According to Mr. Randle "the Box-headed ornament is very decorative, but quite unessential; and what is in essence the same script, with or without this decoration, was widely diffused. The inscriptions of the Gaṅga-king Indravarman of Kalinga, could be turned into typical Vākātaka-character by developing the rudimentary box-heads. Samudragupta's Eran inscription¹² and Chandragupta II's Udayagiri inscription¹³ have the box-head more or less developed."¹⁴

It should be noted that the Kalāhāṇḍi plates of Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra, edited by me,¹⁵ was incised in a period when the ancient characters of Brāhmī was on its way of getting into the shape of Box-head, for which reason I fixed the date of Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra between the 3rd. and the 5th. centuries. Probably he was living a little before Bhavattavarman of the Nāla-family of Madhya Pradesh. It is believed that the Box-headed character was used in Kalinga and Dakshina Kosala from the 3rd. century upto the 8th. century A. D., during which time the Mātharas, including the first two or three kings of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga, and the Vākātaka-, the Śarabhapūrians and the Pāṇḍavas of Dakshina Kosala and the Nālas of Central Provinces lived. In Kalinga this type of characters was in vogue upto Indravarman of Gaṅga-era 87,¹⁶ but became extinct in the 110th year of the same era as per Tekkali plates of Devendravarman.¹⁷ In Dakshina Kosala also this character lost its significance after Tivara Deva. Therefore I am inclined to place Tivara Deva in the first half of the 1st century of the Gaṅga-era, when Mahārāja Hastivarman and Indravarman were living.

Now, from the study of language of the records of Tivara Deva, we come to the same conclusion with regard to the approximate time of Tivara Deva. The language used in the Tivara's 'Prasasti' bearing a long, extravagant and ornate compound sentence, reminds one about the peculiar style of Sanskrit used by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the court poet of Mahārāja Harshavarddhana-Śilāditya. If we compare the language of 'the Kādambarī' of Bāṇabhaṭṭa with Tivara Deva's Prasasti, then we will find as if both were composed by one and the same author.

In this connection the following remarks on Bāṇa's language, passed by Sri K. C. Datta, may be cited : —

"When we proceed from the 6th to the 7th century A. D. we find a great change in Sanskrit prose. More ambitious works were composed in a

11. *Et.* Vol. XIX, p. 100

12. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*. p. 18.

13. *Ibid.* p. 21.

14. *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 177-80.

15. *JKHRS.*, Vol. II, Nos. 2 & 3 pp. 107-10.

16. *Et.*, Vol. XXV, p. 194.

17. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 311.

style which is more ornate and elaborate : but stilted and artificial. Dandin composed his 'Daśakumāra-charita' probably at the very commencement of the 7th century. The style though sufficiently ornate and artificial is yet less extravagant than that of Kādambarī. Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the renowned writer of Kādambarī, was a courtier of Śilāditya II, and was the author of the Ratnāvalī drama, and a life of the emperor called Harsha-Charita. The style of composition (of Kādambarī) inspite of its wonderful power, is ornate and redundant laboured and extravagant, beyond all reasonable bounds, and often the same verbose sentence with strings of adjectives and long compounds, with a profusion of similes and figures of speech run through several pages. It is probable that Daṇḍin was still living, when Bāṇabhaṭṭa followed in his foot-steps in the more ambitious fiction of the Kādambarī."¹⁸

The following Praśasti of the Rajim plates of Tivaradeva is quoted below : --

“स्वस्ति श्रीपुरात् समधिगन पञ्च महाशब्दानेक नत नृपति किरीट किाटि
घृष्ट चरण नखरेणोद्भसितोऽपि ग्णोन्मुख प्रकट रिपु राजलक्ष्मी केशपाशाकर्षण
दुर्ललित पाणिपल्लव निशित निश्त्रिश घन घाति पातिपरि द्वीरद कुम्भ मण्डल
गलद्बहल शोणित सदासिक्त मुक्ताफल प्रकर मण्डित रणाङ्गण द्विविध रत्न
सम्भार लाभ लोभ विजृम्भणारि क्षार वारि वाडवानल चन्द्रोदय ईवाविभूता-
नेकाति शायि रत्न सम्पत् गुरुत्मानिव भुजङ्गोद्धार चतुरः परामृष्ट शत्रु कलत्र
नत्राञ्जन कोमल कपोल कुङ्कुम पत्र भङ्गत् शिष्टाचार व्यवस्था परिपालनेक
दत्त चित्तः त्रपिच प्राक्तने तपसि यशसि रहसि चेतसि चक्षुषि वपुषिच पूजितो
जनेनाक्लिष्टतया नितान्त भवि तृप्ति गूढो गाढं स्वच्छ प्रसन्न वदनेन चालंकृत
स्वामि भवनरप्य बहु तपनोनुज्ञातः कृतुष्णोपि नितान्त त्यागी रिपुजन प्रचण्डोपि
सौम्य दर्शनः भूति विभूषणोपि अपरुषस्वभावः किञ्चा सन्तुष्टो धर्म्मार्ज्जन
सम्पल्लभ स्वल्पता क्रोधन प्रभावे लुब्धो यशसि नपरोप विस्तापहारे सक्त
सुभाषितेष नकामिनी क्रीडाषु प्रतापानल दग्धशेष रिपुकूल तुलराशि स्तुहिन
शिला शैल धवल यशोराशि प्रकाशित दिगन्त कान्तः प्रकृत्या श्रीमदिन्द्रवल
रलंकृत पाण्डु वंशस्य श्रीनम्रदेव स्तनयः प्राप्त सकल कोशलाधिपत्यः स्वपुण्य
संभार प्रशमिताशेष जगदुपद्रवः स्वप्रज्ञा शुचि समुद्भूताखिल कष्टकः, परम
वैष्णवो माता पितृ पादानुध्यातः श्रीमहाशिव तीवरराजः कुशली.....”

The author of this language, I think, cannot live before Banabhaṭṭa, who is considered to be the inventor of this style of prose in the Sanskrit literature. Therefore, it is not safe to place Tivara before Banabhaṭṭa, viz. the first of the 7th century A. D.

THE Ipura plates of Mādhavavarman Vishnukundin¹⁹ render the following epithets regarding the achievements of the glorious king Madhava varman :—

“ त्रिवर नगर भवनगत युवती हृदय नन्दनः ”

and

“ त्रिवर नगर भवनगत परम युवतीजन विहरण रतिः ”

This indicates that Mādhava Varman was hostile to Tivara. Unfortunately no mention of date of this ruler is found from any of his records. Tivara had some matrimonial relationship with the Maukhari kings of Magadha, namely Sūryavarman and Isānavarman, and had hostility with the Vishnukundins of Āndhra-Deśa. So, it is quite probable that the Maukharis invaded Āndhra to help their friends, the Pāṇḍavas of Dakṣiṇa Kośala. It is interesting to note that within a short period of termination of Mādhavavarman's of rule the Eastern Chālukyas conquered Veṅgi and from which time the Vishnukundin dynasty became extinct. So also the Śarabhapurians, the overlords of the Pāṇḍavas of Dakṣiṇa Kośala suddenly became exterminated and their kingdom passed to the hands of Tivaradeva. All these changes must have been the result of some great political disasters which I have already discussed in my paper on “the Gupta rule in Kalinga.”²⁰

We know, that a tripartite battle was fought between three great Indian powers during the first half of the 7th century. It may be presumed that three groups of rulers fought with each other for acquisition of ruling-power, and this conflict extended from Malava upto the valley of the Narmada on one side and from the Ganges upto the Godavari on the other.

From the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II we know that Kirtivarman I defeated the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadamvas. After this the fight between Pulakeśin and Harshavarddhan took place, and the Vishnukundins of Veṅgi were exterminated and the Chalukyas occupied their place. In the same period, according to my theory the Gaṅgas captured the kingdom of Kalinga, where upon the Mātharas of that region was ousted. So also the Śarabhapurians of Sirpur of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala, were overpowered by the Pāṇḍavas, who were formerly acting as Mahāsāmantas under them. Similarly the Vighnas, whom I have taken the overlord of the Sailodbhavas of Koṅḍa,²¹ became extinct; immediately after which event Mādhavarāja and Dharmaraj declared themselves independent by performing Aśvamedha and Vājapeya Yajñas. Dharmarāja came to the throne after Mādhavarāja (of the Gaṅga).

19. *EI.*, Vol. XVII. P. 336; *JAHRS.*, VI. p. 20

20. *OHRJ.*, Vol. I, pp. 137-38.

21. *EI.*, Vol. VI, p. 4 ff.

plates), who described himself as a subordinate ruler of Śaśānka, and who lived in the Gupta-era 300 (A. D. 619-20). It is, therefore, evident that Dharmarāja, come to the throne after ad. 620. This ruler (Dharmarāja) stated in his Puri plates²² that he regained the kingdom of Kōṅgoda by defeating his brother Mādhava, who was supported by one Tivara. And after receiving a defeat Madhava fled to Vindhya-Pāda, probably to the fort of Kālāñjar, which was presumably under the Pāṇḍavas at that time. So, Tivara, who was defeated fighting against Dharmaraja, should be identical with Mahāśiva Tivaradeva of Dekshina Kośala.²³ Therefore, Tivaradeva, as a contemporary of Dharmarāja must have lived in a period nearing between A. C. 620 and 650.

22. *Ibid*, Vol VI, p, 143.

23. *JBORS*, XVI, pp 176-88.

DISCOVERY OF KALACHURI COINS IN PURI DISTRICT

(By B. V. Nath)

Subsequent to the discovery of some Kalachuri gold coins¹ in the Sonepur Sub-division of the Balangir district of Orissa, some more gold coins of the rulers of the same dynasty have been found in the village Ratanpur in Khurda sub-division of the Puri district. In the year 1952, Sri Balunki Nāyak of the above named village found these gold coins below two feet earth deposited in a small earthen jar while he was digging soil in a plot of Government land. These coins, through usual official procedure, were ultimately deposited in Khurda Subtreasury and in the month of November 1953, they were brought by me to the Orissa State Museum.

The whole lot contains ten coins. There are two coins of Ratnadeva and Eight coins of Prithvīdeva of the Kalachuri dynasty. All the coins are in good state of preservation except one that has been cut at the edge. The coin was most probably cut to ascertain the percentage of alloy present in it.

Let us make a conjecture of the possible circumstances under which these gold coins found their way to a village in Puri district, far away from the Kalachuri Kingdom, the land of their circulation. Following are the possibilities (1) in course of their usual circulation; (2) by commercial transactions and (3) by an immigrant. Let us examine each possibility to ascertain the most probable one.

As regards the first surmise, it is interesting to observe that the Gaṅga-Kings, ruling over Utkal, were at war with the Kalachuri kings in the 12th century to which period our coins under discussion palaeographically belong, and therefore it is obvious that the Gaṅga kings might not have tolerated the circulation of the coins of their opponents in their own territories. Coins of a king or kings are generally found in a territory ruled by him or them, or in places lying close to such territories. The find-spot of our coins is a village in Puri district that lies far away from the zone of Kalachuri influence and

therefore it will not be proper to think that the coins were brought in course of circulation to the village. Hence it is not logical and reasonable to maintain the first surmise.

As regards the second possibility it may be pointed out that these coins, in absence of their circulation in the Ganga kingdom i. e. in Orissa, must have no real value for commercial purposes. Therefore, there is no chance of these coins to have been brought to Puri District through any commercial transactions. Thus the second possibility falls flat.

Let us examine the last possibility with a special reference to the political relation between the Ganga and Kalachuri kings in the 12th century. From the Kharod² and Pendrabandha³ inscriptions we know that wars were fought between Ratnadeva and Chodagaṅga and between Prithvideva II and Kāmārṇava. Prithvideva II was the son and successor of Ratnadeva II while Kāmārṇava was the son and successor of Chodagaṅga. Hence these two above mentioned inscriptions show how hostility existed between Kalachuri and Ganga dynasties in the 12th century. Most probably, during the reign of Prithvideva II, these gold coins of our Ratanpur hoard were brought to Puri district by an unknown migrator from the Kalachuri kingdom when he came on pilgrimage. Afterwards he probably settled up permanently in Puri district and buried these coins in a jar in his new residence. In course of time his successors perhaps abandoned the site and shifted their residence to some other place. As the hoard was unknown to them, it was left under ground till these coins were ultimately found by a man at the time of digging the earth. So the coins of the Kalachuri rulers have been discovered in the village Ratanpur of Puri district. The description of the above facts clearly shows that the last possibility appears more sound.

Below is given the description of the coins of the whole lot and five of these coins are illustrated in the accompanying plate,

Coins of Ratnadeva

(1) Size, Circular. Metal, Gold. Weight. 61 Grains

Obverse.....Inside the dotted border the legend is Srīmat-Ratnadeva

Reverse.....Inside the dotted border a lion upon an elephant. A latter *ta* appears in upside down manner below the mouth of the lion.

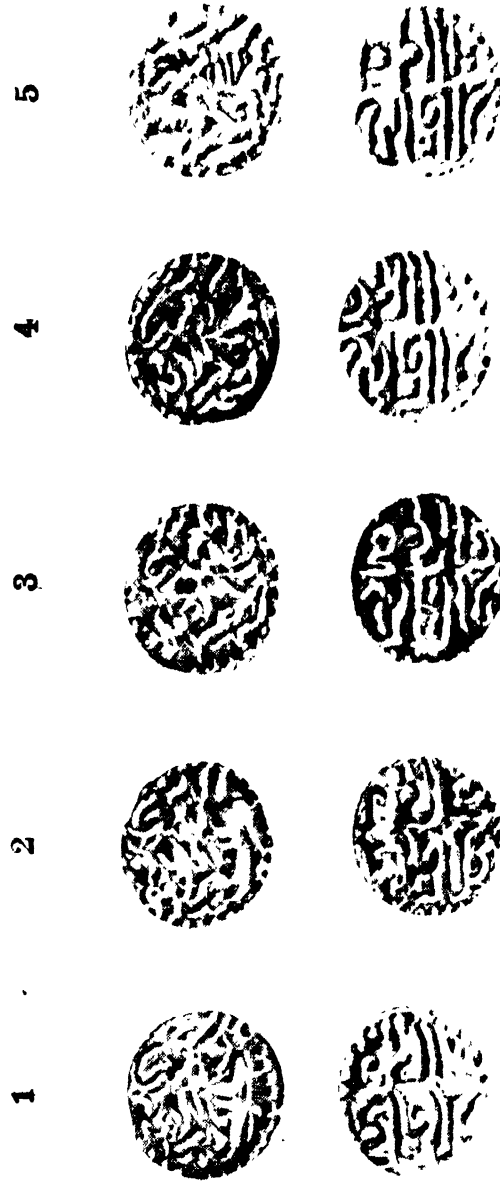
(Pl.....No.....)

(2) As above

(Pl.....No.....)

2. *E. I.* Vol., XXI, p. 159

3. *Ibid*, Vol, XXIII, p. 1



Kālachuri Coins from Puri Dist.
Coins of Ratna Deva 1 & 2.
Coins of Pṛithvī Deva 3, 4 & 5.

Coins of Prithvideva

(1) Size. Circular. Metal. Gold. Weight. 61 grains

Obverse.....Within dotted border the legend is Srīmat-Prithvideva.

Reverse.....The usual motif "Gaja-Sinha". Letter *ta* below the mouth of the lion,

(Pl.....No.....)

(2) As above

(3) As above

(4) As above. The last letter *va* is partially cut at the end.

(5) Like the coin No 1 of Prithvideva.

(6) do do

(7) do do

(8) do do

The coins has been cut at the top by which the weight is reduced to 47 Grains.

(Pl.....No.....)

BRITISH CONQUEST OF ORISSA AND EARLY BRITISH ADMINISTRATION.

By Sri S. C. De.

(Continued from page 63, Vol, III, pp. I.)

Affairs of the Raja of Khurda.

We may now turn our attention to the affairs of the Raja of Khurda. Mukundadeva II who was then a boy under teens was practically under the control of Jaykrushna Rajguru who was in charge of the management of the whole estate. Just on the eve of the British invasion of Orissa, Col. Harcourt was anxious for the support of the Raja of Khurda for a clear and safe passage through Khurda. With that object he met the *Vakil* of the Khurda Raja in Ganjam, and through him, he communicated the message to the Raja of Khurda requesting him to grant a free and safe passage to the British army and transfer his allegiance from the Marathas to the British. The Raja of Khurda agreed to comply with the request on the condition of payment of a lac of rupees in cash after conquest of Cuttack and restoration of the Mahals, (Purusottam, Rahang, Limbai Serai and Chabiskud) wrested from him by the Marathas, to his control. Colonel Harcourt and the Magistrate of Ganjam agreed to the proposed conditions.

After the conquest, the engagements were duly concluded with the Raja of Khurda and a part of the promised cash was paid to Jai Rajguru who, however, did not hand over the same to the Raja and said that he had spent the amount on payment to the troops. The promised four parganas however were not returned.⁴⁴ The main reason for this breach of faith on the part of the Commissioners seem to be their reluctance to part with the possession of the most productive regions of the Raja of Khurda which, they thought, they could legitimately claim since those estates were under the Maratha occupation.

The Marathas came to occupy the parganas in question under the following circumstances. In 1760 A. D. Virakisore Deva, the Raja of Khurda was attacked by Gajapati Narayan Dev, the Raja of Parlakhimedi. Virakisore Deva finding him unable to ward off the attack sought the assistance of the Marathas. The enemy was driven off, but the Raja could not pay the military

⁴⁴ 4. English Translation of the petition of the Raja of Khurda *Ms. Volume No. 10* (Board of Revenue), pp. 10-15

expenses demanded by the Maratha Governor of Orissa, and consequently had to mortgage the best part of his possessions consisting of those *parganas*. The Marathas thereafter virtually annexed them to their territory and the Raja of Khurda was never able to recover them.⁴⁵ It was a great financial loss to the Raja and it continued to be so to his successors who always tried for the restoration of those *parganas*, but in vain.

So, when the British came, the Raja was hopeful about recovery of those *parganas*, and as a matter of fact, he stipulated for their restoration in lieu of support to the British against the Marathas, as already noted above.

But after the conquest, the Commissioners considered those *parganas* as a part of the Maratha territory conquered by them and so, they did not agree to restore them to the Raja of Khurda. Hence the Raja, or for that matter, his guardian Jaykrushna Rajguru, thought of forcible occupation of those estates

Consequently there was slight upheaval in October 1804; a body of *paiks* taken to be the soldiers of Khurda, attacked Pipli. Prior to this, the Raja had sent his men to collect revenue from those *parganas*. So the Commissioners were alarmed, specially in view of the fact that there was a strong rumour current at the time about a Maratha attack on Orissa, and that British force was then much reduced to meet any emergency. So the Commissioners were determined to root out all dangers before they assumed any formidable proportions.⁴⁶

Troops were ordered from Ganjam and Cuttack to march into Khurda. The fort of the Raja of Khurda was stormed and raged to the ground. Raja fled southwards. Realising that it was hopeless to fight against the British he surrendered himself and was incarcerated in the Barabati fort at Cuttack. Soon afterwards he was removed to Midnapore.⁴⁷ He was released in 1807⁴⁸ and was allowed to live in Puri. He was made the Superintendent of the Puri temple by Regulation IV of 1809.⁴⁹ But his estate was confiscated and the management was placed in charge of Major Fletcher. The Raja was granted a *malikana* amounting to Rs. 2133-5-4.

After the petty upheaval, the British authority was consolidated and attempts were made for setting up the administrative machinery to ensure all material advantages of a newly acquired Province.

But the authorities in their zeal to quickly promote the British interests in Orissa took rather hasty steps resulting in harassment of the subjects and consequent disadvantages to the authorities themselves. The people began to grumble under the new regime, and at last, a section of them came out in open rebellion against the British in 1817 A. D.. This is known as the Paik Rebellion or the Khurda Rebellion of Orissa,

45. *Puri District Gazetteer* (1929), p. 51

46. Toynbee, *History of Orissa*, pp. 7-8

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ms. Vol. No. 10* (Board of Revenue) p. 231

49. *Puri District Gazetteer*, p. 132.

Baxi Jagabandhu Vidyadhara

The Leader of this rebellion was *Baxi Jagabandhu Vidyadhara*, the Commander of the Soldiers of the Raja of Khurda. He was forced under circumstances to take up arms against the British. A short life-sketch, of *Jagabandhu* as far as it is known is given below. All available correspondences relating to his relation with the British authorities will be published in extenson.

Jagabandhu Vidyadhara was the Commander of the soldiers of the Raja of Khurda and his title was *Baxi*. Estate Rorang in Khurda was his paternal property. After the British conquest of Orissa settlement was made with him for the estate in the year 1804. And also in the triennial settlement of 1805-06 to 1807 08 that followed the first settlement, engagements were taken from him for the Estate. But subsequently he was led into a cunning trap by a Bangali named Krishna Chandra Sinha who was the Dewan of the Collector, Cuttack till 1805-06, whereafter he resigned. But still he retained much influence in the court His brother Gourhari Sinha was the *tahsildar* of *pargana*, Rahang, adjoining Killa Rorang *Jagabandhu Vidyadhara* was persuaded to pay the rent through the *tahsildar* of Rahang Thus in revenue accounts Rorang was shown as a part of Rahang. Later in the year 1808-09 Rahang was farmed to one Lakshminarayan, a relative of Krishna Chandra. Next year the *pargana* Rahang including Rorang was advertised for sale and was purchased by Krushna Chandra. He could have taken possession of the estate but for *Jagabandhu's* stout resistance. *Jagabandhu* made a representation to the Government about the treachery which was proved on investigation.

About this time, Court had ordered division of this estate between *Jagabandhu* and his cousin in connection with a pending suit amicably compromised between the parties. But before the partition could be effected it was represented that the rights of *Jagabandhu* were questionable In consequence of this representation Government asked *Jagabandhu* to establish his right in the court. In 1814 the Government further passed orders prohibiting any engagement being taken from *Jagabandhu* until he had established his title in a regular course of law.

This was the final crushing blow dealt at one of the most influential and respected persons of Khurda who was first to offer his submission to the British and whose activities were never considered prejudicial to the British interests. *Jagabandhu* was deprived of his heriditary property as the result of this decision and was financially crushed. Besides, the cup of humiliation was full. So he was naturally resolved to avenge the wrong done to him.

This is but one instance of many rash actions of the early British authorities who, without sufficient local knowledge and historical background, did things which precipitated unpleasant consequences. In this case they virtually touched a hornets' nest and consequently precipitated an upheaval which, with judicious handling of the situation, could have been averted.

Ganjam Rebellion

Jagabandhu driven to utter despair must have thought of avenging the wrong done to him. The circumstances then prevailing were also very favourable for the purpose. The whole of the Ganjam area was breathing defiance of British authority in consequence of their treatment of the local Rajas. The Mohuri estate was auctioned in 1810 A. D. and purchased by one Indian servant of the Company who treacherously betrayed the confidence of the queen of Mohuri out of greed. Instead of paying the rest of the estate deposited with him by the Rani, Baddham Chelamaya, a shroff under the Company, got the estate auctioned and then purchased in his name. Krushna Sinha in case of Jagabandhu and Chelamaya in case of the Rani of Mohuri belong to the same category of avaricious and treacherous Government officers who had no scruples in gratification of their greed and avarice. However it may be, the people who were more attached to their own rulers than to the foreign administrators always sympathised and helped their rulers in distress. The sale of Mohuri estate in 1810 A. D. and imprisonment of Dhananjay Bhanj, The Raja of Ghumsar, in 1812 A. D. greatly shocked the people who were already chafing under new British administration. So rebellion broke out in Ganjam under the leadership of Srikara Bhanj, the father of Dhananjaya Bhanj who had been deposed in favour of his son in 1801 A. D.. This rebellion in Ganjam area must have served as an incentive to Jagabandhu's idea of revenge.

Secondly, the Orissan Zamindars and their tenants were all extremely dissatisfied with the administration for various reasons to be discussed hereinafter. So there already existed an atmosphere of rebellion in Puri-Cuttack-Balasore area.

Thirdly, the Paiks, or local militia, were greatly aggrieved by resumption of their hereditary lands and were ready to catch the first opportunity to take up arms against the British.

Thus, the atmosphere was ideal from Jagabandhu's stand point. So he made no mistake and hoisted the flag rebellion under which thousands of Paiks assembled to oust the foreigners from their mother land. The people at large, of course, did not take any active part in the rebellion, but their moral support and sympathy for the cause of the rebellion was never lacking.

Khurda Rebellion (1817)

The rebellion broke out in the month of April⁵⁰ 1817 A. D.. A body of about 400 Chuars⁵¹, (a wild tribe inhabiting jungle region⁵²) from Ghumsar area in Ganjam entered Khurda. They were joined by the *paiks* of Khurda under the leadership of Jagabandhu Vidyadhara. Then they attacked the Government officers and buildings in Banpur and Khurda area. Government

50. The rebellion broke out in March according to Toynbe and in April according to the report of the Chief Secretary of the 10th Aug., 1817 A. D. (*Ms. Vol. No 387, O. B. A*)

51. Khurdas according to Toynbee and 'Chooars' according to Chief Secretary's report.

52. *Bengal Dist. Gazetteer, Midnapore* (1911), p. 39.

officers fled away and civil buildings were burnt down. Soon, the spirit of rebellion spread to the adjoining areas. The authorities were taken aback by the sudden flare-up and quick deterioration in the situation. Martial law was proclaimed on the 14th April 1817 A. D. in Khurda and subsequently, on the 19th April, it was extended to Puri, Piply and Limbai⁵³. Puri was also captured by the insurgents and the European officers abandoned the city and retreated towards Cuttack.

The preliminary attempts to check the insurgents proved to be of no avail. Lt. Faris was shot dead; Lt. Predeaux had to retreat back. But the table was turned with the advance of Captain Wellington to Puri on 2nd April and Captain Le Fevre to Khurda on the 9th April, 1817. The detachment under Le Fevre encountered opposition on his way to Puri from Khurda and completely routed the *paiks* on the 18th April 1817. He then continued to March to Puri which he reached on the same day. There he found that Captain Wellington had been driven out of the town. He occupied Puri and captured the Raja of Khurda. In the mean time Major Hamilton with a force was sent to Puri where he relieved Captain Le Fevre who returned to Cuttack with the Raja of Khurda. On the way he was attacked by the *paiks* with a view to rescue the Raja of Khurda but they were beaten off by Captain Armstrong. Thereafter the rebellion in Khurda-Puri region practically died out.

In Cuttack area thanas of Tirun, Asureswar, Patamundai and Priyarajpore and the estate of Kujang were affected by the rebellion. The *paiks* in those areas had taken up arms. Military operations in the area were started in September under Capt Kennet and Lt. Forrester. The insurrection was stamped out very soon. The Raja of Kujang was taken prisoner. By the end of the year 1817, the situation had been controlled.⁵⁴

Special Commission

General Gabriel Martindel who was appointed as Military Commissioner arrived in Khurda in May. He directed the operations in the affected areas. After the return of general tranquility, a Special Commission was constituted consisting of Martindel and W. Ewer to enquire into the causes of the disturbance and suggest remedy thereof.

Lots of correspondences passed between authorities of the different departments in this connection, the important ones of which will be published hereafter in extenso for the information of the readers.

Jagabandhu Vidyadhara, 1818-1829 A. D.

Though general tranquility returned, Khurda and Banpur area still remained disturbed owing to activities of Jagabandhu Vidyadhara and his chief associates who remained at large. Various attempts were made to capture them, but they did not succeed. Jagabandhu remained a serious source of danger to the British authorities for a period of 8 years till the year

53. Chief Secretary's report, *Ms. Vol., op. cit.*

54. Toynbee's *History of Orissa*, pp. 17-23, Chief Secretary's report, *op. cit.*

1825 when he surrendered on condition of full pardon and grant of a pension of Rs. 100/-. He died in the year 1820. It is, of course, regrettable that Killa Rorung for which he strove so much was not restored to him. Important correspondences relating to the heroic activities of Jagabandhu Vidyadhara will be published in extenso hereafter for full appreciation of the achievements of the little-known hero of Orissa by the readers.

Early British Administration.

Now we may have our attention to the early British administration in Orissa and the causes of Paik Rebellion of 1817 A. D. as revealed by the historical records of Orissa, special those relating to the commission constituted for enquiring into the causes of the rebellion and suggesting remedies thereof.

The grievances of the people during early part of the British people, upto 1818, can be broadly classified under the following heads:—

- (i) Maladministration in the Revenue department,
- (ii) Depreciation of the value of cowry currency and
- (iii) Introduction of Salt monopoly.

We shall here briefly discuss the subjects just to provide a suitable back-ground for the appreciation of the correspondences to be published in extenso.

Revenue Administration.

The British authorities, after conquest of Orissa, launched upon their scheme of administrative organisation with all earnestness and rather with too much of haste. They utterly overlooked the fact the new administrative machinery should be set up against a suitable back-ground, political and cultural. So, without proper study of the system to which the people had been accustomed for centuries they set up their own system which conflicted rather sharply with what the people were used to ; consequently, the people could hardly adjust themselves to the new situation. Chaos and confusion ran rampant much to the discomfort of the people in general and disadvantage of the administrators themselves.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the British Administrators were prejudiced, or rather misled, by the idea that the administration under the Indian rulers, specially under the Marathas, was extremely bad and the people were chafing under it. Naturally they expected that their own system, based as it was on much more enlightened and modern principles, would be welcome by the people. Misled by this notion they tried to introduce their administrative changes rather too quickly to allow the people to adjust themselves to the new system and settle down to it.

The revenue yield of Orissa under the Marathas is variously estimated at Rs. 17 lacs,⁵⁵ 22 lacs⁵⁶ and 15 lacs⁵⁷ of rupees. In one of the statements

55. Wills, *British relation in the Nagpur State in the 18th century*, p. 97.

56. *Ibid*, p. 107.

57. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 244-45

submitted by Mr. Trower, the Collector of Cuttack, to the Board of Revenue along with his report dealing with the probable causes of the rebellion, the gross and net revenue under the Maratha for 12 years from 1790-91 to 1801-82 was given. According to the statement the average annual gross collection and net collection amounted to Rs. 13,78,000 and 11,63,000 respectively.⁵⁸ This falls far short of the revenue of Orissa under the Mughals which amounted to about 35 lacs.⁵⁹ The reasons for this fall in revenue under the Marathas are as follows:

(a) The portion of the *Subah* of Orissa to the north of the river Subarnarekha was separated from Orissa causing a loss of revenue amounting to 10 lacs of rupees per year.

(b) The chaotic conditions that prevailed in Orissa for 10 years from 1741-1751 as the result of the war between the Marathas and the Nawab of Bengal was ruinous to the financial condition of the people of Orissa. There are many other factors that contributed to the progressive deterioration of the economic condition of the people of Orissa since the year 1567 A. D. when Orissa lost her independence. So, viewed against this background, the fall in revenue income of Orissa under the Marathas was quite natural. Some English Historians attribute it to misrule under the Marathas. But, on the other hand, it could be said that the Marathas were rather sympathetic with the people and did not tax them beyond what they could pay reasonably. Had they tried to squeeze the people to the utmost they could have certainly collected more than they did. The truth of the statement is borne out by the fact that in the first year year under the British regime, the *Jama* was fixed at 13 lacs in round figures and was increased to 14 lacs next year and to 15 lacs 4 years after.⁶⁰ The increase in the revenue under the British within the first decade of their administration can, by no means, be attributed to good rule and consequent improvement in the financial resources of the people. So the British authorities taxed the people of Orissa more heavily than did the Marathas. There are many other points which go to corroborate this view. Ewer, one of the Commissioners appointed for investigating into the causes of the rebellion thought that Orissa was more heavily assessed under the British than under the Marathas and he thought that the revenue *Jama* under the British exceeded that under the Marathas by at least Rs. 3 lacs.⁶¹ So, we can say that the Marathas were more sympathetic with the people than their predecessors, the Mughals, and successors, the British. They made many grants for charitable purposes and levied no tax on the most important item of food in Orissa, viz. salt, which, under the British monopoly system, became too costly for the poor. They were very considerate about the difficulties of the Zamindars of Orissa who were usually not very affluent, specially on account of natural calamities, like floods, droughts, etc. to which their areas were often subjected. Zamindars often were granted remissions in such cases of natural calamities. Besides, they were granted 10% commission on their revenue collection for their establishment expenses. Payment in cash or kind was

58. *Ms. Vol. O. S. A. No. 387*, p. 316

59. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 220

60. Toynbee, *op cit.* p. 96.

61. Ewer, *Correspondences on the Settlement of Khurda in Puri*, Vol. I, pp. 25-28.

permissible. Cowry shells were accepted in payment of revenue. Punctuality in payment was not rigorously demanded; sometimes zamindars were allowed sufficient time for paying up their arrear dues. Assessment was made on the basis of actual annual yield of the soil. So there was little chance of over-assessment. These were, in brief, the advantages the Zamindars were accustomed to before the British came.

The British authorities in charge of revenue organisation did not care to study the system the people were accustomed to in Orissa and introduced their own system based on their experience in a province where situation was quite different. Assessment was made without proper enquiry into the actual yield in previous years or the amount of land under cultivation; naturally it was neither equitable nor evenly distributed. Another mistake committed by the Revenue Officers under the early British regime was the strict enforcement of Bengal revenue regulations that were suitable for Bengal with permanently settled areas and with comparatively low assessment. It aggravated the severity of over-assessment. The other privileges enjoyed by zamindars were also denied. Consequently the position of the Oriya Zamindars became precarious. They could hardly meet the government demands, and that too in cash and with strict punctuality. Consequently they fell into arrears and their estates were put to sale. Between the years 1806-1816, as many as 1011 estates out of the total of 2349 were disposed of in this way⁶². This would show how severely the Oriya Zamindars were hit by the injudicious assessment and other enforcement of Bengal regulations.

Another thing which added to the miserable plight of the Oriya Zamindars was the short-term settlements with fluctuating assessments. Annual settlement was not a new thing to the Oriya Zamindars, but arbitrary assessments without reference to actual yield of land or the amount of cultivated or even cultivable land was the source of real hardship. By the Regulation XII of 1805 Zamindars of Orissa were given the hope that at the end of eleven years a permanent settlement would be concluded, but it never materialised. This also added to the sense of frustration of the Oriya Zamindars. In the absence of any sure prospects about a permanent settlement they could hardly continue to engage for their over-assessed estates at the grave risk of reducing themselves to almost bankruptcy. They did petition to the Government enumerating the privileges they were accustomed to under the Marathas and praying for the continuance of those concessions, but the British authorities were too concited with the notion of the superiority of their own system to take into consideration the real grievances of the Zamindars of Orissa⁶³. They, on the other hand, considered it to be just a plea for evasion of payment. So the Oriya Zamindars had no other alternative left but to resign themselves to the inevitable fate.

Then again, the Oriya Zamindars had to face two more formidable difficulties against which they were almost helpless. Many of the *amalas* of the Revenue Department were always designing to acquire landed property, an instance of which is provided by sale of the Estate Rorung of Jagabandhu Vidyadhara already referred to above. During the years 1806-1816 A. D. as

62. Trowers report. Ms. Vol. 387, O. S. A.,

63. Toyabee, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-45.

many a. 350 estates were purchased by the *amalas* of the Government, mostly ⁶⁴ Mr. Trower in his report stated that revenue officials utilised their influences in preventing the 'Oreans from entering into competition with them perchease of lands'.⁶⁵ Thus when any Oriya Zamindar's estate was sold they got it purchased in the names of their relatives. But when their own estates were sold they prevented Oriya proprietors from purchasing them and got them purchased by their own men. So the machination of the *amalas* were responsible for depriving n any Oriya propititors of their heriditary estates.

The mode of sale of estates was another great hardship for the Oriya Zaminidars. Estates with a *Jama* of Rs. 5000/-, or above, were sold at Calcutta where the Oriya proprietors had little scope to purchase them. Consequently very valuable estates were sold for compartivly low price to the benefit of outsiders.⁶⁶

Lastly, the resumption of the heriditary *paik-jagir* lands provided the needed spark for the smouldering fire. It is really astnoshing that the authorities who had bitter experience about the consequences of resumption of such lands in Midnapore in 1799, forgot all about it while they did the same thing in Khurda only 5 years after. The Vice-President in council in a letter dated the 15th March 1799 censured the Board for the 'injudicious system of conduct persued in the management of *paulan* lands'.⁶⁷ Still the authorities committed the same blunder once over and precipitated a crisis.

These are, in short, the defects in the early British Revenue administration which was as disadvantageous to the authorities as it was ruinous to the people of Orissa.

(To be continued)

64. Trower's report, *op. cit.*

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Bengal District Gazetteer, Midnapore*, p. 44.

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HISTORY OF KOSALA AND THE SOMA VAMŚIS OF UTKALA

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Our study of the history of Medieval Orissa, will remain incomplete without a survey of the history of South Kosala as this territory comprised a considerable portion of Western Orissa, and as the political movements in one greatly influenced those in other during this period. Roughly speaking the country of Dakṣiṇa Kosala consisted of the present Raipur and Bilaspur districts of C. P., and Sambalpur, Patna and Kalahandi districts of Orissa. Literary evidences make us believe that Vidarbha (modern Berar) was the heart of the ancient Kosala¹, and it was probably the fact in the 2nd. Century A. D., when the Śātavāhana kings were ruling over the Northern Deccan. One of the Nāsik Cave inscriptions², includes the territory of Vidarbha in the list of territories enjoyed by the Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (C. 106-130 A. D.) who is generally believed to be the patron-friend of the celebrated Mahāyānist teacher Nāgārjuna. The recently published Guñji rock inscription³, of Bilaspur district, supposed to be of the 1st. Century A. D., mentions a King named Kumāravarā Datasiri and two of his ministers Boddhada'a and Idadeva who were famous for their munificent gifts to the Brāhmanas. But the striking absence of any other reliable evidences makes us unable to reconstruct the history of South Kosala before the 4th. Century A. D., The pall of darkness is, however, removed by the flashes of light coming from the famous Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta, from which we know that a King named Mahendra was ruling over South Kosala about the middle of the 4th Century A. D. who recognised the overlordship of the Gupta Emperor during his Deccan campaigns. South Kosala was probably not annexed to the Gupta empire, but that it was within the sphere of Gupta influence is proved by the use of Gupta Coin types⁴ as well as of the Gupta era by her subsequent rulers.

1. *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp 1-3

2. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, P. 60 ff, *Luderss List* No. 1123.

3. *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, No. 3 pp. 217-218. Vol. II No. 3, p. 173.

4. The silver coins of Prasannamatra bear the figure of Garudā together with the discus and conch symbols.

Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the successors of King Mahendra and a great gulf of time separates him from the kings of Sarabhapura, who appeared in the 6th century A. D. The gulf has, however, been bridged by the Āraṅg Plates⁵ of Mahārāja Bhīmasena II issued in the Gupta year 232—A. D. 601, which records the continuous rule of six generations of kings over Kosala. The earliest ruler of this record is known as Mahārāja Sura who was succeeded by his son Mahārāja Dayita I and the latter by his son Mahārāja Bibhīṣaṇa. After Bibhīṣaṇa his son Mahārāja Bhīmasena I ruled the kingdom and was at last succeeded by his son Mahārāja Dayita Varman II, whose son and successor Mahārāja Bhīmasena II issued the Āraṅg plates from the bank of Suvarṇanadī (son?). The reign of Mahārāja Sura, who flourished six generations before 601 A. D. may approximately be assigned to the second half of the 4th Century A. D. and in that case he may reasonably be connected with King Mahendra, the contestant of Samudra Gupta. Thus, the Āraṅg group of rulers may tentatively be taken as Mahendra's successors in South Kosala, who ruled from the middle of the 4th Century to the beginning of the 7th Century A. D.

The Sarabhapuriyas.

Another ruling family of Kosala, the Sarabhapuriyas of whom we know more from a number of copper plates, seals and coins, flourished in the 6th Century A. D., sometimes contemporaneously with the Āraṅg group of rulers. The family has been named after its progenitor Sarabha who was also the founder of the city of Sarabhapura. This place has been identified by Mr. L. P. Pandeya with Sarabhagiri, the chief town of the modern Zamindari of that name in the district of Sundargarh in Orissa⁶, and although many other identifications have been suggested, this seems to us quite plausible.

Sarabha, the founder of the Sarabhapuriya dynasty is referred to in the Pipardulā grant⁷, issued from Sarabhapura, as the father of Mahārāja Narendra, and he is also further identified with Sarabharāja mentioned in the Eran pillar inscription⁸ of the Gupta year 191 or 510 A. D. This inscription records that a prince named Goparāja, the son of Mādhavarāja and the daughter's son of Sarabharāja, gave friendly help to the great ruler Bhānugupta in a battle where he died and that his devoted wife accompanied him by cremating herself in the funeral pyre. In the light of the dated inscription of Eran we may fix the rule of King Sarabha and his son Narendra in the later part of the 5th Century and the early 6th Century A. D. respectively when the Gupta rule was in the process of decline. Kosala by this time seems to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Vākātakas and King Harisena (c. 475-510 A. D.) in his Ajantā inscription claims to have conquered Kuntala, Avantī, Lāṭa, Kosala and Āndhra.

The first great ruler of the Sarabhapuriyas who apparently restored the independence of the dynasty was Mahārāja Prasanna Mātra, whose relationship with Mahārāja Narendra has not been clearly known. In all the copper plate charters of this family the name of Prasanna Mātra is found at the beginning of the genealogy, and the fact that this ruler also

5. Hirai, *Descriptive Lists of the inscriptions in C. P. & Berar*, pp. 83-85.

6. *Proceedings of the Fifth Orient Conf.* p. 461 ff.

7. *I. E. Q.*, XIX, p. 139 ff.

8. *C. I. I.*, III, p. 91.

struck gold and silver coins of his own⁹, clearly indicates him as the first independent king of this line.

The son and successor of Prasanna Mātra was (Mahā) Jayarāja who according to his Āraṅg grant¹⁰ ruled at least for four years, but his brother Māna Mātra who is very often wrongly identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mānāṅka of the Uṇḍikavātika grant¹¹, is not known to have ruled at all. Jayarāja was succeeded by the son of Māna Mātra, called Mahārāja Sudevarāja, whom we know from four of his charters, discovered at Rāipur,¹² Sāraṅgadh¹³, Āraṅg¹⁴, and Khariār¹⁵, all issued from the head-quarters Sarabhapura. Sudevarāja ruled at least for ten years and was succeeded by this brother Mahārāja Pravaraarāja who is known to have effected the transfer of capital from Sarabhapura to Śrīpura. His Thākurdīyā grant¹⁶, was issued from this new capital during the first half of the 7th Century A. D. and this was the time when a struggle for supremacy was going on between the Sarabhapuriyar and the Pāṇḍuvamśis, then a petty power in Central India. Pravara is known to be the last ruler of the house of Sarabha, and he was probably defeated and killed by the Pāṇḍuvamśi King Tivaradeva who issued his charters from Śrīpura in the middle of the 7th Century A. D. assuming the title *Prāpta Sakila Kosalā-dhīpatya* (the obtainer of soverignty of the entire Kosala).

The Nalas

Our knowledge of the Nala dynasty of South Kosala is derived from 2 Copper-plate grants and 2 Stone inscriptions so far discovered. They are;

- (i) Kesaribeda C. P. grant of Maharaja Arthapati Bhattāraka
(J. B. R. S., XXXIV, p. 33 ff)
- (ii) Rithāpur C. P. grant of Arthapati Bhavatta Varman
(E. I., XIX pp. 100 ff)
- (iii) Poḍāgadh Stone Inscription of Skandavarman
(E. I. XXI pp. 153)
- (iv) Rājim Stone Inscription of Vilāsātunga
(E. I., XXVI pp. 49 ff)

From the above inscriptions we came to know of the following facts about the Nalas.

About the 5th century A. D. the Nalas were ruling in the Eastern part of Mahakosal comprising the modern ex-State of Bastar and the Koraput District of Orissa. Probably they invaded the Vākātaka kingdom and occupied their capital Nandivardhan as known from Rithapur plates. Later on they

9. *New Hist. of the Indian people*, VI, P. 87, Fn. 3.

10. *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 613 ff.

11. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 195 ff.

12. *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 197 ff.

13. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 283 ff.

14. *M. K. S. P.*, II, p. 39-40

15. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 172 ff

16. *Ep. Ind.* XXII, pp. 15 ff.

were defeated by the Vākātakas who probably occupied their kingdom which was recovered by Skandavarman Bhavadātta as indicated by Podāgadh Stone Inscription. So they were contemporaries of the Vākātakas and also the Sarabhapuriyas who were ruling in the Western part of Mahākosala. From Rājim Stone Inscription of about the 7th-8th century A. D. we come to know that the Nalas were ruling in the Rājim area where the Pāṇḍuvansi king Mahāvivagupta Bālārjuna was ruling about the period. Most likely the Nalas occupied the kingdom of the Pāṇḍuvamśis who moved down to Sambalpur Sonepur area. The Rājim Stone Inscription furnishes us with three names of the king of that dynasty :

1. Prithvirāja
- 2—Virūpa Rāja
3. Vilāsa Tunga

We do not know how they were related to the earlier group, that is Arthapati Bhavadatta and his son Skanda Varman or how the course of events moved after Skanda Varman till Prithvirāja and subsequent to the reign of Vilāsatunga. These gaps remain to be bridged by subsequent discoveries of materials relating to the Nalas.

The Pāṇḍu Vamśis.

The Pāṇḍu Vamśi rulers who superseded the rule of the Sarabhapuriyas in South Kosala trace their pedigree from a remote ancestor named Udayana, who was a petty chief in Central India. According to the Rājim¹⁷ and the Balodā¹⁸ grants Udayana was the great grand father of king Tivara, whose date may be assigned to the middle of the 7th. Century A. D. in the light of the Koṇḍedda¹⁹, Nivinnā²⁰ and Purī²¹ grants of Dharmarāja, the Śailodbhava monarch of Kangoda. Apparently Udayana was not separated by a big gulf of time from King Sarabha, the founder of the Sarabhapuriya family, and the rise of these local chiefs to prominence indicate the weak hold of the Imperial Guptas over the political conditions of Central India during that period.

According to a Śīpur inscription²² Udayana was succeeded by his son Indravala, and the latter is known to have got at least four sons, of whom the eldest one Nannadeva succeeded him in course of time. It was during the reign of Nannadeva that the Pāṇḍuvamśis invaded Dakṣiṇa Kosala and occupied some portion of it (Cir. 600 A. D.) and the hero of the Kosala invasion is believed to be one of the brothers of King Nanna named Iśānadeva, whose Kharod inscription²³ in the district of Bilaspur is the earliest known record of the Pāṇḍuvamśis. Nannadeva's son and successor Tivaradeva, as has been mentioned above, occupied the whole of Dakṣiṇa Kosala from the hands of the Sarabhapuriyas, and called himself Kosalādhipati i.e. the lord of Kosala. He is known to us from his Rājim and Balodā grants incised in late box headed characters which are issued in his 7th. and 9th. regnal years respectively. V. V. Mirashi assigns Tivaradeva to the middle of the 6th. century A. D. taking

17. *O. I. I.*, III pp. 294 ff.

18. *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 104 ff.

19. *Ibid.*, XIX, pp. 265-270

20. *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 34-41

21. *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI, pp. 175-78

22. *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 179 ff.

23. *Hiralal, D. L.*, pp. 113 ff., No. 149.

him to be the contemporary of the Vishnukunḍin Mādhava Varman I (525-568 A. D.), who claims to have delighted the herats of the best ladies in the mansions of the city of Tivara²⁴. But as noted above, he was definitely a contemporary of the Śailodbhava Dharmarāja who defeated him in a battle fought near the Vindhya sometimes in the middle of the 7th Century A. D. Evidently, the dates of the Vishnukunḍins and the Śailodbhavas require an adjustment in consideration of the date of Tivaradeva, which appears to be the central pivot.

Tivaradeva was succeeded by his brother Chandra Gupta, whom Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies with the prince of the same name, who is mentioned in the Sañjan plates of Amogha Varsha I (Saka Samvat 793) to have been defeated by the Rashtrakūṭa Govinda III (C. 794-814 A. D.)²⁵. But if Tivaradeva be taken to be either the contemporary of the Vishnukunḍin Madhava Varman or of the Śailodbhava King Dharmarāja, the identification of Chandra Gupta as proposed by Dr. Bhandarkar will be untenable, and besides, Chandra Gupta of the Sañjan plate is not mentioned as the King of South Kosala. It is known from a Sirpur temple inscription²⁶ of Bālārjuna that Chandragupta's son Harshagupta married Vāsatā, the daughter of a king Śūryavarman who is generally identified with the Maukhari Prince of the same name, the son of Isānavarman.²⁷ The Hārābhā inscription dated in Samvat 611 reveals that Śūryavarman caused a dilapidated temple of Andhakāri Śiva to be repaired during the life time of his father. He is not mentioned in any of the dynastic records to have been a king and as Isānavarman was succeeded by another son named Śarvavarman, Prince Śūryavarman appears to have predeceased his father. So the Varman king, who was the father-in-law of Harshagupta need not be identified with Śūryavarman of the Hārābhā inscription, who flourished in Samvat 611, i.e. 555 A. D. as the date of Harshagupta may be ascribed to the second half of the 7th. Century A. D.

Chandra Gupta was probably succeeded by his son Harsa Gupta who is mentioned as a King on the seal of the Lodhīā copper plate²⁸ of Mahāśiva Gupta-Bālārjuna, but unfortunately we know very little about him. Bālārjuna is, however, known to us from a number of records of his time, and according to his Lodhīā grant, he ruled at least for a period of 57 years. His territory was of considerable extent and he is known to have granted lands in Khadrāpadraka and Vaidyāpadraka located in the present Kalahandi district. His date may be assigned to the first half of the 8th. Century A. D. and the ruins of Sirpur in Raipur, of Rānīpur-Jhariāl in Balangirpatna and of Pelkhandi in Kalahandi district, are believed to have preserved the glories of his rule.

The Somavamśis.

Nothing is known for certain about the immediate successors of Mahāśiva Gupta Bālārjuna, who were ousted from the Sirpur region of Kosala by the rising power of the Nalas, and took shelter in the Sambalpur-Sonepur tracts. Several of their copper plates discovered so far, reveal the

24. *Ep. Ind.* XXII, pp. 19-22.

25. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 233 ff.

26. *Ep. Ind.*, XI pp. 191 ff.

27. *Jha Com.* Volume, pp. 225-26.

28. *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 121 ff.

fact that they could within a few generations consolidate their power in these tracts, from which they steadily penetrated in to the coastal regions of Orissa and occupied the whole of it in course of time. This Orissa branch is generally given the name Somavamśi in order to avoid a confusion with the Pāṇḍuvamśis of the Kosala branch, although many of the later records of the Kosalan rulers refer to them as Chandrānvaya, Śaśadharānvaya, Somavamśa etc. The earliest known ruler of the Somvamśi line is Mahābhava Gupta Janamejaya, who was probably the son of Mahāśiva-gupta Bālārjuna. A Sirpur inscription²⁹ refers to a son of Bālārjuna named Śivanandin, but nothing definite is known about him as yet. Mahābhava Gupta Janamejaya in his copper plate grants calls himself the son of Śiva Gupta who may be the same as Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, and so the rule of Janamejaya may be assigned to the second half of the 8th. Century A. D.

Mahābhava Gupta Janamejaya is known to have solidly organised the kingdom of the Somavamśis in Western Orissa, and his earlier copper plate grants issued from various "Victorious camps", suggest that he was busily moving from place to place in his task of consolidation. He ruled at least for a period of thirty-four years and in 31st, regnal year he issued three of his charters from a place named Kataka³⁰. This Kataka has been identified by Pt. Binayak Misra³¹ and Dr. H. K. Mahatab³² with Chaudhuār near modern Cuttack, on the north bank of the Mahānadi, and if this identification be correct Janamejaya's territories must have extended towards the coastal regions of Orissa at the later part of his reign. Evidently, the growing strength of the Somavamśis came into clash with the declining power of the Bhaumakaras of Tosala, in which the latter appear to have received some reverses. According to traditional belief Janamejaya performed a great sacrifice in the village Agrahāṭa in Cuttack District, where the local people point out even today the place of the sacrifice. The Brāhmesvara temple inscription³³ reveals that Janamejaya occupied the Odra country after slaying its ruler in a hotly contested battle. That the Somavamśis were regarding the Baud region—the famous Khinjalī—as Odra country, is clearly known from the Vinitapur charter³⁴ of Mahāśivagupta Yajāti I, which reveals that a village named Śilābhañjapati, apparently founded by king Śilābhañja was situated in Odradeśa. It appears that Janamejaya drove away the Bhañjas from Khinjalī Maṇḍala and the Odra king who was killed by him with his 'Kunta' may be identified with Raṇabhañja. After the occupation of this Khinjalī Maṇḍala the ambitious Janamejaya must have cast his longing eyes over Dakshina Tosala which resulted in his conteses with the imperial Bhaumakaras and his occupation of some territory in South Tosala round about Chauduār.

Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya was succeeded by his son Mahāśivagupta Yajāti I, who laid out the town of Yajātinagara (modern Jagati three miles to the west of Baud) on the bank of the Mahanadi, and made it his victorious capital. The foundation of Yajātinagara, as well as his land grant in Gandhatapāṭi³⁵ modern Gandharāḍi close to Jagati clearly indicate that the Khinjalī Maṇḍala of the Bhañjas had already been occupied by the

29. Bhandarkar's List, p. 893 fn.

30. *Ep. Ind.* III, pp. 345-50.

31. Pt. B. Misra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa* p. 75.

32. Mahatab: *Hist. of Orissa* p. 60.

33. *J. R. A. S. B.* Vol. XIII (1947) pp. 63 ff.

34. *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 351-55.

35. *I. B. Q.* XXVIII, p. 227.

Somavamśis by that time. Yajāti I's hold upon the newly conquered portion of South Tosala is also known from one of his charters issued in the 9th regnal year in which he bestowed the village Chandragrāma (modern Chandgān in Cuttack district) in the Marāḍa Viśhaya of Dakṣiṇa Tosala to a Brāhmaṇa named Śamkhaṇi, who hailed from Ślābhañjapati of Oḍradeśa³⁶. It appears, however, that during the time of Yajāti I a reconciliation was achieved between the Bhaumakaras and the Somavamśis, and Yajāti I Mahāśivagupta, who is now known to us by his second name Svabhāvatuṅga, gave his daughter Pṛthvīmahādevī in marriage to the Bhaumakara king Subhākara (III) Kusumāhāra (II), whose Tāleber plate has been dated in the Bhauma era 141. The unpublished Baud plate of Pṛthvīmahādevī—Tribhuvanamahādevī (II) dated in the Bhauma era 158 reveals that she was the daughter of Svabhāvatuṅga of Lunar dynasty, the monarch of Kosala and that her mother was Nṛttāmahādevī, the daughter of Yasovṛddhi.

Yajāti I Svabhāvatuṅga ruled at-least for 28 years³⁷ and before his death he was successful in defeating the Chaidyas of Dāhala, the Kalachuri territory which was rendered depopulated by him³⁸. After him his son Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta II succeeded to the throne. This ruler is known to us from his Kuṭaka grant³⁹ of the 3rd regnal year, as well as, from the Kudopāli grant⁴⁰ of a subordinate Chief Puñja of the Māthara family who issued it in the 13th regnal year of the King from Vāmaṇḍā Daṇḍapāti. It appears from this that the Mātharas, who were once the ruling family of Kalinga, were continuing in Western Orissa as the Vassals of the Somavamśi rulers as late as the 10th Century A. D.

After Bhīmaratha Mahābhava Gupta his son Mahāśiva Gupta II Dharmaratha who has been called the second Praśurāma for his valour ascended the throne and when he died childless the Somavamśi kingdom passed to the hands of the collateral branch of the dynasty. It may be mentioned in this connection that Abhimanyu, the son of Vichitravira who was a younger son of Mahābhava Gupta Janmejaya, had at least two sons—Naghusha, and Chaṇḍihārā, of whom the elder one Naghusha, being probably the adopted son of Dharmaratha succeeded him after his death. Naghusha Mahābhava Gupta III is sometimes identified with the Buddhist King Nageśa of Oḍviśā, who according to Tārānāth⁴¹ defeated one Kāma-Chandra an unspecified ruler of the east, although the contemporaneity of Naghusha with Sri Harsha as maintained by this Lāmā can not be upheld.

The Brāhmesvara temple inscription does not mention the name of Naghusha, but it states that after Dharmaratha the whole state suffered from chaos caused by many rebellious chiefs and orders could not be restored as a great hero was then passing his days in foreign land. Dr. D. C. Sircar is right in identifying this great hero with Chaṇḍihārā the younger brother of Naghusha, but his identification of the Bhāṭās (rebellious chiefs) with the lieutenants of

36. *Ep. Ind.*, *Ibid.*

37. His Patna copper plate grant is dated in the 28th regnal year. *J. A. S. B.*, 1905, Vol. I (New Series), PP. 19-23.

38. *O. H. R. J.* Vol. I, No. 4, P. 293.

39. *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 55-59.

40. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, PP. 251-55.

41. *Ind. Ant.*, IV, pp. 364-65.

Rajendra Chola seems untenable. The Brāhmesvara inscription does not indicate these chiefs as foreign invaders; Sri P. Acharya's translation of this portion (Line 6) of the inscription is subject to modifications.

During the days of chaos Abhimanyu the bonafide father of Naghusa appears to have taken up the charge of the Government for some time, but he is not known to have played the role of a king⁴² and the next ruler was his younger son Chandibāra, called Yajāti II Mahāśivagupta III. The Mārañjmurā charter⁴³ of Yajāti II, issued in his 3rd regnal year reveals that the countries of Kalinga, Utkala and Kangoda, voluntarily chose him to be their ruler. The clear implication of it is that, there was some serious internal trouble in the Trikalanga country before the accession of Yajāti as the remedy of which he was chosen King by the ministers of the State. The accession of Yajāti II Mahasiva Gupta III may be ascribed to the middle of the 10th Century A. D. and it was probably the time when the Bhaumakara Power succumbed to the aggression of the Somavamśis, and Yajāti II's empire must have been a vast one extending from the Bay of Bengal in the east to Sambalpur in the West, and from Daṇḍabhukti in the north to Gañjām in the south. During the early years of his reign Yajāti was busy in foreign wars and the Mārañjmurā charter reveals that, he could within three years subdue Kalinga, Kangoda, Utkala and Kosala and fought with the countries of Kaṇḍāṭa in the South, Rāḍha and Gauda in the north, and Lāṭa and Gurjāra in the West. All these conquests, if based on facts, are no doubt very great achievements for Yajāti II, who appears to have revived the imperial traditions of Orissa after Khāravela.

Yajāti is also known as a great champion of Brāhmanism in Orissa and tradition credits him with the performance of a ten-horse sacrifice at Virajā after which the place was known as Yajāpura or Yājapura. He is also said to have built a temple for Jigannāth and another for the Goddess Vimalā at Purī, and the construction of the famous temple of Lingaraja at Bhubanesvara was undertaken by him, which was probably completed during the time of his son and successor Udyota Keśari Mahābhava Gupta.

Udyota Mahābhavagupta IV, also called Udyota Keśari, was a very powerful ruler of the Somavamśi house and he is known to us from his Bāliharī⁴⁴ and Kesarkelā⁴⁵ charters, as well as from a number of stone inscriptions of his time found at Bhubanesvara and Khandagiri. The Brāhmesvara temple inscription dated in his eighteenth regnal year reveals that he defeated the forces of Dāhala, Odra and Gauda, as it were, in child's play, with the help of veteran warriors and elephant corps. The pālas of Bengal and the Kalachuris of Jubbulpur region must have been his adversaries, who were defeated by him. The expression "Bā'la Kriḍābhireva" seems to indicate that Udyotakeśari fought these battles during his early youth when his father Yajāti I was ruling, and it reads like a corroboration of his father's claim of subduing Gauda, Kaṇḍāṭa and Lāṭa, which need not be regarded as embellished with false vanity.

Mahābhava Gupta Udyota Keśari completed the construction of the Lingarāja temple at Bhubanesvara, which was probably his capital and he is on

42. He is not given a regal title in any of the inscriptions of the Somavamśis.

43. *J. B. O. R. S.*, II, pp. 52-55.

44. *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVII, pp. 1-24.

45. *Ep Ind.* XXII, pp. 138.

that account identified with Lalāṭendu Keśari who is regarded by tradition as the builder of this temple. A cave of the Khandagiri near Bhubanesvara which bears an inscription⁴⁶ of Udyota Kesari, is known as the "Lalāṭendu Keśari Gumphā", thus lending support to this identification. Another rock inscription⁴⁷ of the time of Udyota Keśari, incised in the 'Nava Muni' cave of Khandagiri, reveals that in that 18th regnal year of this monarch a Jaina devotee named Śubha Chandra, who was a disciple of the famous Achārya Kula Chandra, came on pilgrimage to that sacred place. The inscription indicates that Udyotakesari had great respect for Jainism which continued to flourish in Khandagiri region under his liberal care. He is, however, known to us as a great champion of Śaivism in Orissa and it was during his time that many Śiva temples were constructed at Bhubanesvara including the famous Lingarāja and the magnificent Brahmesvara, the latter being built by the queen mother Kolāvati.

Udyota Keśari appears to be very considerate towards his relatives, and we know from the copper plate grant of Kumāra Someśvaradeva⁴⁸ a scion of his dynasty who ruled from Suvarnapura in the late 10th Century A. D., that he gave away the Western portion of his empire to the descendants of Abhinyu and was himself content with his rule over the coastal territories of Kalinga, Kangoda and Utkala. Thus after Udyota Keśari the Somavamśi house split up into two branches, the Kosal branch ruling over the Western Hilly countries, while the main line, generally known as the Utkala branch continued to rule over the coastal regions of Orissa.

King Indra Ratna of the Kosala branch, who was probably a successor of Kumāra Someśvara, sustained a defeat at the hands of Bhoja, the Pāramāra King of Dhārā early in the 11th. century⁴⁹. It was during his rule that the great conqueror Rājendra Choḷa (1016—43 A. D.) invaded the territories of Oḍṛavishaya and Kosalanāḍu some times in 1023 A. D. and King Indrarath was killed in the battle at his head quarters Yajātinagara while offering gallant resistance against the generals of the Choḷa emperor⁵⁰.

With the death of Indraratha, the Somavamśi rule over Sambalpur-Sonepur region disappeared and was supplanted by the rule of these Chola dynasty, Cynchroneous with the foundation of the Choḷa rule in eastern part of Kosala, a branch of the Kalachuris of Dāhala established itself in Western Kosala with Tummāna as its capital. The leader of this new Kalachuri branch was Kalinga rāja, whose great grand son Pṛthīdeva claims himself as the lord of entire Kosala in this Amoḍ grant dated in 1079 A. D.⁵¹. But the Sonepur region was not conquered by the Kalachuris till the beginning of the 12th Century A. D. A Ratnapur inscription⁵² dated in 1114 reveals that the Kalachuri king Jājalla defeated and captured a king named Someśvara

46. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 166.

47. *Ibid.* pp. 165-66.

48. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 237-242.

49. *Ep. Ind.*: Vol. I, pp. 235.

50. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 223 ff.

51. *Ep. Ind.* XIX PP. 78 ff.

52. *Ep. Ind.* I, pp. 32 ff.

who may be identified with Someśvara II the last known Chōḷa ruler of Sonepur,⁵³ also known as king Bhujavala of Suvarṇapura.⁵⁴

Although the Somavamśis of Kosala branch ceased to rule after 1023 A. D., the Utkal branch continued for about a Century more, till it was ousted by Chodagaṅga Deva in the first quarter of the 12th Century A. D. Unfortunately no reliable evidences are available about this branch of rulers to build the history of the later Somavamśis, and Madalapāñji, the Jagannāth temple chronicle, which is the only source of information appears quite unsatisfactory and sometimes unconvincing. Several scattered evidences, however, indicate that the rule of the later Keśarīs was far from being peaceful and they were the easy prey to the predatory raids of the Kalachuris from Mahākosale in the West, the Palas from Bengal in the north and the Gaṅgas of Kalinga in the South. It is known from the Goharwā plates⁵⁵ of Kṛṣṇadeva that the Kalachuri Chedi King Gaṅgeyadeva (who died in 1041 A. D.) "conquered as far as the sea of Utkala and vanquished the king of Aṅga." The hero of this invasion was Gāṅgeyadeva's brother Kamalarāja, who according to the evidence of the Āmod plates⁵⁶ of Prthivideva, "having churned the King of Utkala with emaciated war, made over, the Goddess of victory to his overlord Gāṅgayadeva". Dr. D. C. Sircar finds out a later member of the Somavamśis in a votive inscription in the Lingarāja temple of Bhubaneśvara, whom he calls Viravara Keśarī, the daughter's son of the Gaṅga king Kājurāja I (1070-78 A. D.)⁵⁷. It is, however, known for certain that this so called Viravara Keśarī is Vira Narakeśari identified with the famous Gaṅga King Narasimhadeva I, grand son of Rajrāja III (1198-1211 A. D.)⁵⁸. Gaṇapati of this Lingarāja temple inscription is no other than the Kākatiya king Gaṇapatideva of Waraṅgal, who was defeated by Narasimhadeva I about 1240 A. D.

Sandyhākra Nandi in his "Rāma Charita" mentions a Keśarī ruler of Utkala named Karmakeśarī who was routed in the battle by Jayasimha of Dandabhukti, a feudatory of Ramapala, assigned to the last quarter of the 11th Century A. D. The victor is said to have bestowed the Utkala country on one "Bhavabhūṣaṇa Santati" who has been identified by some scholars with Ananta Varmā Chodagaṅga, a scion of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga. Uncritical reliance should not, however, be placed on the statement of a Court poet, who is prone to exaggerate the claims of his master. According to Mādālā Pāñji the last ruler of the Somavamśis in Utkala was Suvarṇa Keśarī who was completely defeated by Chodagaṅgadeva sometimes before 1113 A. D., after which Utkala passed to the hands of the Gaṅgas.

53. *Ep. Ind.* XIX, pp. 97-99.

54. Bhandarkar, No. 1249.

55. *Ep. Ind.* XI, p. 142.

56. *Op. Cit.* (181), *Ind. Cult.* III, NO. 1, P. 121-127.

57. *Ind. Cult.* III, No. 1, 121-27

58. *O. H. R. J.* Vol. I, No. 4, 301

DATE OF VAIJALA DEVA, AUTHOR OF PRABODHA CHANDRIKĀ

By Sri K. N. Mahapatra' B. A. (Hons) D. Ed.

Prabodha Chandrikā, a work on Sanskrit grammar by Vaijala Deva, a ruler of the kingdom of Patna was till recently very popular in Orissa, and was also known in other parts of India. So an attempt has been made in this paper to fix the date and ascertain the domicile of its author, with the materials that have been available.

This work was perhaps first noticed by H. P. Shastri who wrote in his report as follows :

'Vaijala Bhupati was a Chauhān Zamindar of four parganas in the district of Patna in the first half of the 17th century. He employed a Pandita named Jagamohan to prepare a topographical account of India entitled *Deśāvali-vivṛti*, six volumes of which are to be found in the Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta. He wrote a short treatise on Grammar entitled *Prabodha Chandrikā*, which has been collected in these years.¹ In another article entitled 'Gazetteer Literature in Sanskrit'² the same scholar quoted a verse from which it is known that this Vaijala Deva, died in Saka year 1572, and Kaliyuga years 4750 or 1630 A. D. Elsewhere³ he has discussed the geneology of this Vaijala Deva as given by his court-poet Jagamohana, which will be examined latter. His final conclusion about Vaijala Deva, the author of *Prabodha Chandrikā* has been embodied in the preface of the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Vyākaraṇa manuscripts*, which is quoted below for ready reference and careful examination. "During the reigns of Jehāngir and Shāh Jahān, there was a Chauhān Raja at Patna, whose name was Vijjala or Vaijala, and he had four parganas as his Jaagir. Following the example of Vidyāpati and of Vijjala's ancestor Vikramāditya, he got one of his pandits Jagamohan to write a Sanskrit Gazetteer of Eastern India, entitled *Deśāvali-vivṛti*. He had a son named Hirādhara. For the education of Hirādhara in Sanskrit, he wrote a short grammar, entitled *Prabodha*

1. *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1906-1911, p. 6.

2. *The J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, 1918, p. 14

3. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the A. S. Bengal*, Vol. IV, *History and Geography*, 41.42.

Chandrikā throughout in anuṣṭup metre. His object was to preach the glory of Rāma. It has the following sections :—

Vibhakti-chandrikā, Tyādi-, Kāraka-, Samāsa-, Taddhita, and Sandhi-⁴.

With due respect to this late-lamented learned scholar it can now be said that his conclusion regarding the date and domicile of Vaijala Deva, author of P. C. * is untenable in view recent findings detail below.

For the purpose of this article, the following have been critically examined.

(a) The palm-leaf manuscript containing upto the 7th *Prakarana* of P. C. preserved in the Orissa State Museum.

(b) & (c) The palm-leaf manuscript containing the complete text of the P. C. preserved in the Orissa State Museum. The same manuscript also contains upto the 4th *Prakarana* elsewhere.

(d) Copy of P. C. collected by late P. C. Ratha from the Mahakosala Historical Research Society in 1942.

(e) Copy of P. C. collected by late P. C. Rath from the Tanjore Maharaja Serfogi's Saraswathi Mahal library in 1943.

(f) Copy of P. C. collected by me as the Archaeologist, Ex-State of Kalahandi, from Rani Sahaba, Thuanul in 1944.

(g) Copy of P. C. printed and published by late Pandita Govinda Ratha in Oriya script.

The first two verses of P. C. which give some information about its author, are found in all the seven copies referred to above. They are as follows :

हरिहर-गुरु-भक्तः सर्वलोकानुरक्तः
त्रिभुवन-गतकीर्तिः कान्ति-कन्दर्प-मूर्तिः ।
रण-रिपुगणकालो वैजलक्षोणिपालो
जयति जगतिदाता सर्वकर्मविधाता
(Verse 1)

चन्द्रावती वदनचन्द्र-चकोर धीरः
श्रीविक्रमार्कतनयो नयतन्त्रवेत्ता
चौहानवंश तिलको पटनाधिनाथो
राजा परं जयति बैजलदेवो नामा
(Verse 2)

4. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, *Vyakarana Manuscripts*, 1931, Preface, p. CXIII

* Prabodha Chandrika is hereafter abbreviated as P. C. ,

It is stated in the above two verses that *Vaijala Deva* was a devotee of both *Hara* (Śiva) and *Hari* (Viṣṇu) as well as his preceptor. He was very powerful, beautiful, munificent and well versed in *Naya* and *Tantra*. He was a famous ruler of the *Chauhān* family of the *Patna* kingdom, and the consort of *Chandrāvati* and the son of *Vikramārka* or *Vikramāditya*.

Late Mr. Shastri arrived at this wrong conclusion by identifying the kingdom of *Patna* ruled over by *Vaijala Deva* which existed in the *Sinbalpur* region of *Orissa*, with a *Jaigir* in the district of *Patna* in the State of *Bihar*. But the exact location of the kingdom of *Patna* has been described in the first chapter of *P. C.* called *विभक्ति चन्द्रिका* which is quoted below.

दिग्देश कालयोगेच ग्रामात् पूर्व स्थितिर्मम

उत्कलात् पश्चिमं ज्ञेयं पटना राज्यमभ्युतं ।

This verse is found in all the seven copies of *p. c.* referred to above. In five copies the word 'उज्ज्वल' is substituted for 'अभ्युतं' but it does not affect the sense of the verse in any way it is clear from the verse that the kingdom of *Patna*, of which *Vaijala Deva* was the ruler, lay to the west of *Utkala* or *Orissa*. Had he been a *Jaigirdar* of the District of *Patna* in the State of *Bihara*, he would never have located *Patna* to the west of *Utkala* or *Orissa* as found in the Text. This kingdom of *Patna* was so named after its capital *Patna* (present *Patnagarh*) where a lot of remains of the early period were first noticed by Mr. Beglar in 1875-76⁵, most of which are still to be found there. The name of 'Patna' is found in an Oriya inscription belonging to the 13th century, discovered in the *Patnagarh*, but this is not yet published. The term 'पाटणानगर' is found in the *Narasimhanātha* stone inscription of *Vaijala Deva*, which has been edited and published by Pandit *Vicayaka Misra*⁶. Thus it can be said with certainty that *Vaijala Deva*, author of *P. C.* was a ruler of the *Patna* kingdom in *Orissa*, and was quite different from his namesake, who was a *Jagirdar* in the *Patna* District of *Bihar*, and the patron of Pandita *Jagamohana*, the author of *Desāvalī-vivṛti*.

This conclusion is strengthened by the examination of the genealogies of both the *Vaijalas*. The author of *Prabodha-Chandrikā* was the son of *Vikramārka* or *Vikramāditya* and the father of *Hirādhara*, for whom this grammatical work was composed :

चिन्तयन्नति निर्यातः क्रीडन्तं श्रीहीराधरं

श्रीमान् बेजलभूपालो विलोक्य सुतमब्रवीत् ॥

5. *A ch. Survey of India*, Vol. XIII, pp. 126-128

6. *I. H.*, Vol. XII, p. 486

But the genealogy of Vaijala Deva, a Jaigirdar of Patna in Bihar as given by his court poet Jagamohana is quite different from that given in the P. C. as shown below :

Vikramāditya (who settled in Tirhoot)
|
Nāthasena alias Parāsava
|
Vaijala, author of a Prakriyā Vyākaraṇa and settled at
Paṭṭana. In his family was born Vanavari in the
Kaliyuga year 4500 or 1400 A. D.
|
Vanavāri
|
Bhudala
|
Ratula
|
Vaijala (Patron of Jagamohana)?

A glance at the above genealogy shows there were two Vaijalas in this family, but none of them was the son of Vikramāditya. There was of course one Vikramāditya. But he was the grand father of the first Vaijala, who wrote one Prakriyā Vyākaraṇa and the remote forefather of the second Vaijala, the patron of Jagamohan. But, there is no Hīrādhara in the above genealogy for whom the grammar was written.

Vaijala, the ruler of the Patna kingdom and author of P. C. was followed by a long line of kings, who ruled in the States of Patna, Sonapur, Sambalpur, Khariar till their occupation by the British in the middle of the 18th century, whereas nothing is known about the successors of the Jaigirdar Vaijala, whose death was followed by chaos and disorder, for which Deśāvali-vivṛti, compiled under his patronage remained incomplete. So Vaijala, the author of P. C, was not identical with the Jaigirdar Vaijala.

It may further be noted that the exact year of death of Vaijala, the Jaigirdar, is recorded by his court *pandita* Jagamohana, to be Saka year 1572 or 1650 A. D. But Vaijala, the ruler of the Patna kingdom, and author of P. C. lived at least a century before, as will be shown below. For the reasons stated above, Vaijala, a Jaigirdar of Patna, cannot be taken as the author of Prabodha Chandrikā, as he had no son named Hīrādhara, and his court poet does not say anything about the composition of a grammar by him. Of course one of his forefathers named Vaijala composed a grammar named Prakriya Vyakarana, but it was quite different from P. C. Thus, Vaijala Deva, author of P. C. was a king of the Patna kingdom in Orissa for whose son Hīrādhara, this work was composed.

Date of Vijjala Deva :

Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sharma in his paper named 'The Chauhan king Baijala II of Patna State' published in the Proceedings and Transactions of the sixth All-India Oriental Conference has correctly indentified him with the author of P. C. But he has assigned Baijala II to the last quarter of the 14th century, by taking him to be contemporary of Vira Singh Haihaya of Ratnapur. On this point he writes as follows :—

It is stated in the Hindi History of Ratnapur in (M.s) that the Haihaya Prince Virasingha Deva married the daughter of the Chauhan king of Patna. This Chauhan king is, to all probability, the author of Prabodha Chandrikā-Raja Vijjala Deva II. Virasingh the Haihaya prince, as given in the history book referred to above, ruled from Vikrama Samvat 1428 to 1464.⁸

Virasingh might have ruled from V. S. 1428 1464 or 1371 to 1407 A. D. but this date for Vijjala II is earlier by at least one century as will be shown hereafter. In the same paper, Sri Pandeya has quoted a verse from P. C. as given below, for fixing its date.

दधीचि दानवीरोद्भूत् दयावीरः शिविर्नृप
हम्मीरो युद्धवीरोद्भूत् निदर्शनममी त्रयः ॥

He takes this 'Hammīra' of the above verse as no other than the famous king of Kanathambhor who was a great hero and writes thus 'Hammīra's death took place about Hiziri era 760 (1301 A. D.) or Vikrama Samvat 1358. The mention of 'हम्मीर' goes to show that the poem was composed sometime after 1301 A. D.

But the word 'हम्मीर' is found only in the copies of two manuscripts, (d) and (e), whereas in the texts of five others namely (a), (b), (c), (f) & (g) the word हनुमान् is found in place of Hammīra. The use of the word 'Hānuman' a great Epic hero, instead of Hammīra fits in well with the two other names of the verse, e. g. Śivi and Dadhīchi, who also belong to the age of Epics. So nothing definite can be said regarding the date of this work on the strength of this doubtful intenal evidence.

The same scholar in his paper named 'Chauhan Maharajas of Patna State (Mahakosala)' has given the list of kings of this royal family, as found in 'Kosalānanda Mahākāvya' in Sanskrit by poet Gangādhara Misra of Sambalpur and also in an old Hindi Kavya Jayachandrikā by Prahlad Dube of Sarangarh⁹. The two lists are as follows.

Jayachandrikā list

1. Ramai.
2. Mahalinga
3. Baijala Deva I
4. Bhojarāj Deva

Kosalānanda list.

1. Ramai or Rama Deva
2. Mahalinga Deva
3. Baijala Deva I
4. Vastarāja Deva

8. Proceedings and Transactions of the sixth A. I. O. Conference, Patna, December 1930, p. 48.

9. I. H. Q., Vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 618-623.

5. Vikrama Deva
6. Pratāpamalla Deva
7. Bhūpala Deva
8. Vikramajit Deva
9. Baijala Deva II
10. Hiradhara Deva

5. Bhojarāja Deva
6. Viramalla Deva
7. Pratāpamalla Deva
8. Bhūpāla Deva
9. Vikramāditya Deva
10. Baijala Deva II
11. Hiradhara Deva

11. Rāma Deva
12. Balaram Deva
alias Narasingh Deva

12. Narasingh
Deva
13. Balaram
Deva.

In this paper Sri Pandeya has identified Vijala Deva, whose stone inscription is found in the Narasiṃhanāth Temple of Sambalpur district with Vijala Deva, author of P. C. by taking Vachachharāja of the record as identical with Vikramāditya of the list. He writes on this point. "If Bairājadevarāja (as Dr. Bhandarkar deciphers it and which Mr. Beglar reads as Bachha Rāja) stands for Vikramāditya, then it is certain that Baijal Deva of the inscription is no other than Baijal Deva II of the list, and he must have been reigning about Vikrama Samvat 1470 or 1413 A. D.¹⁰

But this conclusion of Sri Pandeya regarding the identification of Vijala Deva of the inscription is wrong. The word वच्छराजदेव suggested by Mr. Beglar is quite clear in the facsimile of the Narasiṃhanāth stone inscription edited by Pandit Vinayak Misra.¹¹ The word cannot be read as 'Bairājadeva-rāja,' which Sri Pandeya has accepted for identifying him with Vikramāditya. So from the correct reading of the line of the record, given by Pandit Misra, which is पाटणनगर स्तिति वच्छराजदेव राजाङ्कुर पुत्र श्री वैजाल देव it can be concluded without any fear of contradiction that Sri Vijala Deva, son of Vachharāja Deva, of the inscription was different from Vijala Deva, son of Vikramāditya Deva, who wrote P. C. So Vijala of the record can be taken as the first king of both the lists given above. Vijala author of P. C. was undoubtedly the second king of that name of both the lists, where the name of his father and son are correctly found to be Vikramāditya and Hiradhara respectively.

It may be noted in this connection that the name of Bachohharāja is not found in 'Jayachandrikā' which was composed in V. S. 1838 or 1781 A. D., whereas the name of one Vatsarāja is found in the list given in the 'Kośalānanda' which was written in Kaliyuga year 4716 or 1616 A. D. So Kośalānanda which was written 165 years before Jayachandrika may be taken as more reliable. But in the Kośalānanda list, Vatsarāja is shown as the son of Vijala, instead of his father, which was a mistake of the author, who wrote some 200 years after Vijala I. Thus Vijala of the inscription may be identified with Vijala I of both the lists.

10. *Ibid* p 622.

11. *I. H. Q.*, Vol XII, 1936 ; Facsimile enclosed after p. 486 Sri omitted by Pt. Misra appears in the facsimile,

The date of Vaijala II, author of P. C. can be fixed tentatively with the help of the Vaijala I of the Narasimhanāth temple inscription. This record is not dated in any era. But the date of this record ascertained by Sri Pandeya to be 17th March, 1413 A. D. by working out the details of 'विकारि नाम सम्बत्चरे चैत्र पौर्णमी शुक्रवारे हस्तानक्षत्रे given in the record is found to be perfectly correct¹² The year was Vikārin according to northern cycle which is in vogue in Orissa. It was also Friday and full moon day (93) of the lunar month Chaitra with Hastā nakshatra (13.92). As there is complete agreement on all points the date 17. 3-1413, Friday, arrived at by astronomical calculation can be taken as correct.

In consideration of the language and paleography of this record it may safely be placed in the 1st quarter of the 15th century A. D. This form of Oriya language is found in the inscriptions of the later Imperial Gaṅga kings of Orissa beginning from Narasimha II (1278-1307 A. D.). The somewhat roundish-top of the Oriya scripts found in this record is also noticed in the Kapali matha inscription of Gajapati Kapileśwara Deva edited by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi, M. A.¹³

According to Kosalānanda the intervening period between Vaijala I and Vaijala II was covered by the reigns of six kings. If Vatsarāja is omitted as he was the really the father of Vaijala I as pointed out before, there remain five kings for whom a century may be allotted. So, Vaijala II, author of P. C. may be placed in 1520 or in the first quarter of the 16th century.

The date of Vaijala II may be calculated with the help of another event described in the Kosalānanda which states that Balarāma Deva, the first ruler of Sambalpur and grand son of Vaijala II, helped one Rāmachandra Deva of Utkala to gain power at the time of the first Muslim conquest of Orissa. This Rāmachandra was undoubtedly Rāmachandra I of the Bhoi dynasty (1563-1603 A. D.), who appeared in the political arena, at the time of its first Muslim invasion in 1563 A. D.

As Balarāma was well established on the Sambalpur throne by 1563 A. D. his reign may be assigned to 1560-1530 A. D. and his grand father Vaijala may be placed before 1530 A. D. *On the strength of the facts stated above, Vaijala II author of P. C. may tentatively be placed in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.*

Prabodha Chandrikā. A Rāma-Vyākaraṇa.

There are some grammatical works in Sanskrit which are sectarian in character. The earliest of them is Mugdhabodha, by famous Bopadeva of the 10th century who gave a sectarian turn to his work by taking all examples from the names of Vishnu and Siva, in whose identity he believed. This example set by Bopadeva was followed by Vaijala Deva, who gave most of the examples in P. C. in the name of Rāma, being a fervent devotee of god Rāmachandra as is

12. Swamikannu Pillai, 'An Indian Ephemeris Vol. V, p. 28.

13. O. H. B. J., Vol. I, No. 2, p. 105.

indicated by the first few verses of the first Chapter. This work was intended by its author to be a Rāma-Vyākaraṇa as will be indicated by the two verses quoted below.

संसाराम्भोधितरणं राम नामानुकीर्तनं
राम नामान्विता तस्मात् प्रक्रिया क्रियते मया ।

x x x x (Verse 9 of 1st Chapter)

‘प्रबोध चन्द्रिका’ नाम रामनाम समाश्रिता

अज्ञान तिमिर-ध्वंसकारिणी चित्त हारिणी ।

(Verse 35 of 1st Chapter)

Viṭṭhalāchārya, who wrote a commentary on Prakriyā Kaumudī refers to one Rāma-Vyākaraṇa, as noted by Sri Chintaharana Chakravarti. “Sectarian grammars also seem to have been known even when Jīva wrote as Viṭṭhalāchārya (1st half of the 16th century) in his commentary on Prakriyā-Kaumudī is said to have often referred to a Rāma-Vyākaraṇa, which from its name seems to have been sectarian.”¹⁴

The Rāma Vyākaraṇa referred to by Viṭṭhalāchārya might be P. C. of Vaijala Deva, which was written in the 1st quarter of the 16th century as proved before and had circulation throughout India.

There was of course another Rāma-Vyākaraṇa, named Bhāvasiṃha Prakriyā, written by Bhaṭṭa Vinayaka, for the education of Bhāvasiṃha the eldest son of Medinirat, the object of which was the glorification of Rāma.¹⁵ If this Medinirat is taken to be identical with the famous Rajput chief Medini Rai or Medini Rao of Chanderi, who was defeated by Babur in 1528 A. D. the date of this grammar may tentatively placed sometime after that date. At the present state of our knowledge, it cannot be definitely said to which Rāma Vyākaraṇa Viṭṭhalāchārya has referred to in his Prakriyā prasāda. But P. C. which had larger circulation than the Bhāvasiṃha Prakriyā had greater probability of being alluded to by Viṭṭhala.

This work was once very popular among Sanskrit scholars of Orissa and known by the name of Vaijala Karikā or Vaijala Kāvya and the manuscripts of this work are discovered through out Orissa. It had also circulation outside Orissa as is testified to by the discovery of the manuscripts of P. C. noticed in different catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts noted below,¹⁶

1. *Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts* in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VI, *Vyākaraṇa Manuscripts* Nos. 4570 to 4572 and 4572 A.

2. *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss in the C. P. and Berar*, Nos. 3103-3105.

14. *Annals of the B. O. R. I.*, Poona, Vol. X, p. 124.

15. Bhaṭṭari, *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss*, Vol. VI, *Vyākaraṇa Manuscripts* preface, p. CXIV.

16. The catalogues from No. 3 to 8 are found in *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss*, First part grammar by R. L. Mitra Appendix, p. XXXI.

3. Buhler, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (found in Guzrat), Vol. III, No. 69.
4. Keilhorn, *C. P. Catalogue*, No. 41.
5. Aufrecht, *Catalogue Codicum Sanskriticorum* No. 370.
6. *Benares Sanskrit College Catalogue* No. 15.
7. *North-western Provinces Catalogue* Pt. I, 42.
8. *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts found in Oudh*, Pt. IV. No. 8.

This grammatical Kāvya, which was very popular throughout India, and had wide circulation in Orissa and Bengal, deserves publication in an authentic manner in the Devanagari script, for the proper assessment of its value and importance.

THE PARVATĪ TEMPLE INSCRIPTION AT BHUBANESWAR

By Sri B. V. Nath

The inscription, which was not previously noticed by any scholar, is engraved on a stone set in the plinth quite close to the entrance from the south side of the Jagamohan of the Pārvatī temple in the compound of Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneswar. It was discovered by the writer in the month of July 1954 at the time of examining the various aspects of the temple. The text given below is prepared from the impression of the inscription taken by the writer.

The writing contains two lines and occupies a space about 34" long and 4½" broad on the stone. The first line of the inscription is in perfect condition whereas some letters at the beginning of the second line are damaged. Some letters also in the middle have been rendered indistinct due to a crack on the stone. However, the text gives the purpose of the donor. The language is Sanskrit prose mixed with Oriya.

The characters used in the inscription seem to belong to the later part of the 13th century A. D. as the alphabets are quite similar in shape and form to those used in Chandrādevi's inscription of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple built at Bhubaneswar in 1278 A. D.¹ Further, the inscription reveals that letters like *ṣaṭa*, *ṣa*, *ṭa*, *ka* and *dha* had already assumed the proto-Oriya forms.

The inscription does not contain any known era but it mentions the regnal year of a king named Śrī Bhānu Deva. This Bhānu Deva can be identified with Bhānu Deva I of the Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa who ruled from 1264-1279 A. D. The date of the record, being the 13th regnal year or 11 years of actual reign of Bhānu Deva, thus falls in the year 1274 A. D. according to the system of calculation of the regnal years.² The object of the record is that one Bhima Bāhika gave daily two earthen pots filled up with cakes for the daily offering to the Goddess Umā under the charge of Yasodhara Māhārānā.

1. O H R. J., Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 283

2. J. A. S. B., 1903, p. 100

The inscription reveals three names viz, Bhānu Deva, the king of Orissa, Yasodhara Māharaṇā, the officer in charge of the temple, and Bhima Bāhika, the donor. The Goddess referred to is Umādevi. Short notes on each of these names are given below.

Bhānudeva I.

He is also known as Vira Bhānudeva I. He was the 12th king in the Gaṅga dynasty who ruled Orissa from 1264-1279 A. D. He is known to us mainly from the inscriptions found in Sri Kurmam,³ Simāctalam⁴, and the Ananta Vāsudeva⁵ temples. No other inscription of this king has yet been found in Puri district of Orissa.

Yasodhara Māharaṇā.

The man seems to be the Supervisor or Officer in charge of the temple at the time of incising the inscription. Had it not been the case, the cakes might not have been given in his charge for daily offering to the goddess Umā. Doubts arise as to the status of the man. Our inscription gives his title 'Māhārāṇāsyā'. He can be taken as a Mahārāṇaka if we assume that the scribe has left the letter 'Ka' by mistake to insert in between the letters 'na' and 'sya'. Though the assumption appears quite plausible, it can be said that the title Mahārāṇaka is not found in any of the inscriptions of Gaṅga rulers so far discovered in Puri district. Hence Yasodhara cannot be taken as a Mahārāṇaka in absence of any evidence from epigraphical sources. Let us examine the word more carefully. *Mahārāṇāsyādhikare* is a compound word. When it is broken up, we get Mahārāṇasya-adhikare. Here Mahārāṇa, gives Mahārāṇasya in its 6th case singular number. As the scribe has put the sign of *Visarga* after most of the words in the text and as the inscription is Sanskrit mixed with Oriya, it seems that the scribe has not followed strictly the principles of grammar. Therefore he has added 'sya' as suffix to the actual Māharaṇā. In Bhubaneswar, the people belonging to sculptor castes use the title *Mahārāṇā*. Possibly, Yasodhara was a man of the sculptor caste who remained as the supervisor of Parvati temple in the year 1274 A. D.

Bhima Bāhika.

The inscription furnishes the name 'Bhima Bāhikaṇa'. Bāhika is a variant form of the word *Bāhaka* who carries some load. Among the employees of the Lingaraj temple, some persons are still called 'Bāhaka' as they carry the God in palanquin on ceremonial occasions. So Bhima may be taken as the man whose duty was likely to carry the God on festivals and religious functions.

3. S. I. Inscription, Vol. V, Nos. 1233, 1235, 1236, 1251, 1252

4. do Vol. VI, Nos. 712, 719, 720; 845, 1213.

5. O. R. H. J. Vol. I, No. p, 283

Besides the above three names, we get from the inscription the name of the Goddess to whom the offering was arranged to be made daily through Yasodhar Mahārāṇā. The name is Umādevī which was very likely the name of the present deity 'Annapurnā' in the Parvati temple. The question arises whether the present Goddess is the same Umā on iconographic grounds? The examination of the image has revealed a quite different one. Let us see what are the descriptions of the Goddess Umā, Annapurnā and Bhuvaneshwari according to their respective 'dhyanas'. While dealing with the Saivite goddesses of Hindu pantheon, H. Krishna Sastri describes *Saubhāgya Bhuvaneshwari* as of 'red hue', a jewelled crown, a smiling face, and heaving breasts, who holds a pot of gems in one hand, and red lotus in the other and who places her right foot on a treasure of gems⁶. He also describes Annapurnā as "of two or four arms who in the former case holds gracefully in one hand a jewelled vessel containing food and in the other a spoon to distribute the same (among her devotees) or in the latter, holds the noose and the hook in two hands and shows the protecting and been giving postures in the others."⁷ N. K. Beattasali says that the goddess Umā holds in her four hands Lotus, Rosary, Mirror and Water-pot.⁸ He also further says that the Goddess, that has rosary, Siva-linga, image of Ganeśa and a water pot in her hands and is placed between two pyres of fire is called Pārvati.

The above descriptions show the different distinguishing attributes of *Bhuvaneshwari*, *Annapurnā* and *Umā*. The inscription from the Parvati temple names the deity enshrined in the said temple as Umā. Hence on the strength of this recorded evidence of 13th century, it can be said that the original deity in the temple was Umādevī and not Annapurnā. But the present deity in the Parvati temple has two hands only. In her right hand she holds a lotus and in her left hand a pot of gems. She places her right foot on a flower vase, from which flowers come out with stems. She has heaving breasts. One lion is flanked in her right side. The above descriptions shows that she is not Umā, but very likely *Saubhāgya Bhuvaneshwari* according to the description by Krishna Sastri.

One question strikes us as to the whereabouts of the real image of Umādevī. In this connection my humble suggestion is that, perhaps during the time of Muslim invasion, the real image of Umādevī was destroyed and in her place a new one had been substituted. For this reason, we see a different image in the Pārvati temple and the name of the deity has been known as Pārvati or Annapurnā by the local people.

The historical importance of the inscription is also great. It stands as a piece of evidence to show the existence of Pārvati temple in the compound of Lingaraj temple in 1274 A. D. When and by whom the temple was constructed is not easy to answer in the present state of our knowledge. From the magnificent workmanship and over decoration on the temple, it may be presumed that the temple was most likely constructed during the Gaṅga period.

6. *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 218.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Iconography of Brahmanical Sculptures in Dacca Museum*, p. 200.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

The Inscription runs as follows :—

1st Line : स्वस्ति, श्री भाणुदेवस्य प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्येः त्रयोदशब्देः
भिलिख्यमानेः श्री उमादेव्याः

2nd Line :पिष्टक आटिका द्वय यशोधरमहाराणस्याधिकारेः भीम
बाहिकेण दिवा (रु ?)

Translation

1st & 2nd line	}	Bliss, for (propitiation of) Umadevi, cakes in two earthen pots
		were given daily in charge of Yasodhar Maharana by Bhima Bahika (and this) was written when Bhanu Deva was enjoying his 13th rengal year in his prosperous and victorious kingdom.

F. N.

Ātikā—The Oriya word Ātikā is an earthen pot which can contain the quantity of boiled rice of one Katakī seer (105 tolas). At Puri and Bhubaneswar, rich pilgrims donate Ātikā containing cooked food for being daily offered to the deity. So it seems that in the 13th century the custom of donating Ātikā was in vogue. I am tempted to suggest that the Oriya word Ātikā might have been derived from the Sanskrit word Ādhaka or Ādhikā which was a measure for volume.

‘NOTICES OF PALM-LEAF MANUSCRIPTS ‘GOVINDA LILĀMṚTA’ WITH ITS COMMENTARY

By Sri K. N. Mahapatra

In the Manuscripts Section of the Orissa State Museum, there is a palm-leaf manuscript containing the Sanskrit Kāvya, ‘Govinda Lilāmṛta’ with a commentary in Sanskrit named *Vaishṇavahlāḍinī* by *Harisevaka Kaviratna*, an unknown Sanskrit poet of Orissa. This manuscript consists of 200 Folia ($10\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$) with six lines of writing on each side, written in old Oriya characters. The date of copy and the name of the copyist are not found in the manuscript as it abruptly ends in the beginning of the ninth Sarga. But by an examination of the scripts used in writing, it can be placed in the first half of the last century.

Though incomplete, the manuscript is important as it gives a lot of information not only about the commentator and his family, but also about their royal patrons, in the twelve introductory verses after *Maṅgalācharaṇa*, and in the colophons, most of which are quoted below for ready reference and further research.

श्री राधाकृष्णो जयतः, श्री सरस्वत्यो नमः ।
मन्दारामन्द निन्दा करतल बिलसत् वर्यसौन्दर्य वृष्टं
प्रोन्मीलच्चन्दनालीत्रिमलनखरुचिस्वान्दिताक्रन्दकुन्दं
मारामन्दाकार मन्दाकिनी मुनिमनसा वन्दितं साधुशृङ्गं
वन्दे बृन्दाबनेन्दोश्चरण सरसिजवृन्दमानन्दकुन्दं । १ ।

परमपदमूर्ध्वं पूर्वतोऽपीश्वरो यो
ब्रजति तदभिधेयो नाम सामन्तरायः
परमपदगतानां सज्जनानां सद्रक्षो
जयति मम पिताय पुण्यापुञ्जस्वरूपः । २ ।

भट्टाचार्यजनार्थं विविधमतविदं नाम गोविंदरामं
जित्वा युक्त्यावलीभिः विजयनगरतो भैमदेव्यां सभायां
प्रत्यक्षं पण्डितानामपि सपविपुरः प्राप्त सामंतराया
भिर्यां व्युत्पन्नपूर्वा प्रमुदित हृदया भूषपीताम्बराद्यः । ३ ।

यस्मिन् भागवतीं कथां कथयति व्याख्यां सभामध्यतो
धृत्वा वैष्णवतोपणीं प्रतिपदं सप्रेमरोमोद्गमः ।
पापाण्डा अपिततक्षणं प्रविलसत् रोमाञ्चक साश्रुभिः ।
व्याप्ताः प्रेमसुखाम्बुधौ सुजनवत् मज्जन्ति भावाकुलाः । ४ ।

साक्षात् योऽमरकोप पुस्तक महोऽप्यकं लिलेख स्वयं
श्रीपीताम्बर भीमदेव विलसत् भूमीश्वरस्याज्ञया
यश्चक्रे मथ राप्रयाण विदितं सत्खण्डकाव्यं हरेः
राधायाश्च कथाभिरभूततरं प्रश्नोत्तराभिर्युतं । ५ ।

चतुर्भुजपदाश्रयश्चतुरसत्तमचातुरी
चमत्कृत् जगज्जन वरित दत्तचित्तः सतां
चिरन्तनमुनेः कथाकथन कोविदानां चिरं
चचार भुवियः शुचिः सुकृतसञ्चयं दृश्चरं । ६ ।

शुभम् शम्भु जटा तटोत्तटनटत् गङ्गातरङ्गोज्ज्वलां
कर्त्ता यः कवितां वितानविलगत् काव्यादरां गानरां
वक्ता यश्च सभासु भागुरपदप्रेङ्गत् विवाद ग्रह-
ग्रस्त सस्त विवादीवाक्यविहसत् सभ्याञ्चित्रां भारतीं । ७ ।

भ्राजत् राजकदम्ब लम्बित महापूजादरोऽ उदिरं ?
तु षट् शत्रुगणैः प्रसन्नधनैर्मित्रैर्मृदा लोकिताः ।
श्री दामोदर पण्डितः प्रकटिताशेषश्रुतार्थक्रियः
पट्टज्योतिष वेदि शाटिकतयाऽ स्यातो यदीयाग्रतः । ८ ।

नो वाला न च कालिका न सरमा नो भारती चण्डिका
पूज्यायस्य नवाभवत् कुलगुरुः श्रीकृष्णचन्द्रः परं ।
यत् पादाम्बुजरेण भुषिततनुत्वेनास्य शशिभवेत्
गीर्वाणेशगुरोः पुरोऽपि मुखरो जैत्रप्रतिज्ञानकः । ९ ।

नानालङ्कारवद्भिर्मृदुमधुरतर श्लिष्टसम्यक् पदार्थं ,
प्रो हत पुण्य प्रसङ्गैः प्रवलरसकुलं राशु ऋतेऽ कवितः
मादृक् कुत्रापि कश्चित् कविरपि सपदि स्फुटिमानस्तिनेवं
गर्बं कुर्वन्नखविसदसि ? किल कविक्रमापति यन जिग्ये । १० ।

यः श्रीमत् पुरुषोत्तमाभिधमहाराजाधिराजाज्ञया
श्रीमत् भक्तिरसामृताम्बुधिगत श्लोकावली टिप्पणीं
कृत्वा कीर्तिकदम्बकं प्रकटय त्रानन्दयन् वैष्णवान्
पापाण्डानपि भर्तृयन्त्रु पगतानध्यापयन्ना वभौ । ११ ।

व्युत्पन्नानां कवीनां विविधमतविदां वन्द्य पादारविन्दान्
काव्यं गोविन्दलीलामृतं मिदं ममलम्बान्तं सामन्तरायात्
मोहं तस्मात् पठित्वा निजपितृगणिकान्भ्यामपूर्वं विदित्वा
किं चित्तस्य प्रमादान् पिपठिपुर्चये टिप्पणीभारभेऽस्य । १२ ।

गोविन्द लीलामृत काव्य टीका
मत् वैष्णव ह्लादकरी मनोज्ञा
भावार्थमात्र प्रतिपादनीया
सतां सदा कण्ठगता विरास्तां । १३ ।

अथ सकल कविहुलमुकुटालङ्कारहीरोपलः परम वैष्णवः श्रीमान् कृष्णदासः	×	×
केवल भगवल्लीलादर्शनाप्रधानं गोविन्दलीलामृताख्यं महाकाव्यं		
चिकीर्षुः	×	×

Colophon of the fourth Sarga :—

इति श्रीमत् परम पवित्र-भारद्वाजगोत्रावतंस
वैयाकरण भूषण-व्युत्पन्न-कुञ्जर-पञ्चाननायमान
श्रीमन्नन्दनन्दनपादारविद द्वन्द्व स्यच्छन्दामन्द निस्यन्दमानमकरन्द-
सन्दोह सत्वादन परमेश्वर सामन्तराय पुत्र हरिसेवक
कविरत्न विरचितायां वैष्णवल्लादिनीसमाख्यायां
गोविन्दलीलामृत व्याख्यायां चतुर्थः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥

Last verse of fifth Sarga :—

भारद्वाज कुलाम्बुधौ महतियः संपूर्ण शुभ्रांशुवत्
विप्रश्री परमेश्वराख्य उदितः सामन्तरायः सुधी
तत् पुत्रेण यथाश्रुतार्थं रचिते गोविन्द लीलामृत—
व्याख्याने विमलार्थं संस कृतमये सर्गो गतः पञ्चमः ॥

The purport of the text quoted above is given below.

After offering his prayer to Lord Kṛṣṇa in the Maṅgalāccharaṇa (1st verse) the poet says that his father Parameśvara Sāmantarāya was not only a man of piety and devotion (verse 2) but also a great scholar and defeated a famous Paṇḍita named Govindarāma Bhaṭṭācārya by his arguments in an assembly of learned men in the court of Pitāmbara Bhīmadeva of Vijayanagar, who being immensely pleased by his scholarship, conferred on him the title of Sāmantarāya (verse 3). His father used to explain the Bhāgavata with its 'Vaishṇavataśhinī'¹ commentary, in such an impressive manner, that it could even melt the hearts of the non-believers, who were inspired with joy and emotion (verse 4). At the behest of king Pitāmbara Bhīma Deva he compiled a lexicon like the celebrated 'Amarakośha' and composed a Kṛandā-kāvya named 'Mathurā Prayāṇ', describing the līlā of Śrī Rādhā Kṛṣṇa (verse 5). He was a great devotee of Nārāyaṇa, a Parama Bhāgavata, a famous poet, and an eloquent speaker (verse 6 & 7).

Damodara Paṇḍita the elder brother of Parameśvara Sāmantarāya, got the title of Paṭṭajyotiṣa' for his vast learning. He was honoured by the kings, admired by his friends and coaxed by his adversaries (verse 8). He (Damodara) was a great devotee of Śrīkṛṣṇa through whose mercy, he became a versatile scholar, like god Brahmāpati (verse 9). He could compose elegant, nicely worded, sweet and melodious verses extemporaneously and was able to defeat a great poet who thought himself unrivalled in poetic skill and attainments (verse 10). By the order of Mahārājādhirāja Puruṣhottama Deva he composed a commentary on 'Bhaktirasāmṛtasūtra'² which made him famous, gladdened the Vaiṣṇavas, and criticised the non-believers (verse 11). Being instructed, inspired and assisted by his uncle (Damodara), who was a celebrated poet, he (Harisevaka Kaviratna) wrote a commentary on the famous Kāvya 'Govinda Līlāmṛta', named 'Vaishṇavahlādinī', which was a source of joy and inspiration to the true Vaiṣṇavas (verses 12 & 13).

After describing the achievements of his accomplished father and uncle (father's elder brother) the poet begins the Tika and at the outset pays reverential tribute to the great Vaiṣṇava poet Kṛṣṇadāsa, who was the author of 'Govindalīlāmṛta'.

From the colophonic statements quoted above, it is known that the commentator Harisevaka Kaviratna, was the son of the notable poet Parameśvara Sāmantarāya of the Bhāradvāja Gotra, and was well-versed in grammar and a great devotee of Nandanandana or Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

Let us first of all ascertain, who this Mahārājādhirāja Puruṣhottama the patron of the commentator was. He cannot be identified with the famous Sūryavaṃsī Gajapati Puruṣhottama Deva (1466-1497) of Cuttack, or the Puruṣhottama Deva of the Bhoi dynasty (1621-1632) ruling at Khurda, as none of them was the successor of Pitāmbara Bhīma Deva, ruling at Vijayanagara. He can satisfactorily be identified with Puruṣhottama Deva, of the Gaṅga dynasty, who

1. A commentary on the tenth Book of the Bhagavata, believed to be a work of Śaṇatana, is also ascribed to Jīva and Rūpa.
2. It was composed by Rūpa Gosvami, the sole object of which was the fuller exposition of the sentiment of Bhakti.

description of this town which is called Vijayanagari by the poet is to be found in the 8th and tenth Parichhedas of the Champu, which need not be quoted here. The ruins of this town are to be found in the ex-Badakhemdi Zamindari of the Ganjam District.

An account of this town is also given by Mr. Maltby, a few lines from which are quoted below for ready reference.

"In 1768 when Mr. Toteford took possession of the Ichhapur province, he found the united estate in the hands of Bheema Deo, the most troublesome Zemindar in the district. At his death in 1776 A. D. one of his sons Mani Deo, kept Vijayanagar or Pedda-Kimedi and the other Jagannath Deo succeeded to Pratapagiri or Chinna Kimedi."

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×

×

The Raja's *godo* or fort was formerly at Vijayanagari. The present residence of the Zemindar is at Digupudi".⁸

Poet Harisevaka:—From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that the poet Harisevaka adorned the court of Purushottama Anangabhīma Deva (1728-1776 A. D.) who had his capital at Vijayanagar in the ex-estate of Badakhemdi in the Ganjam District of Orissa. He perhaps got the title of 'Kaviratna' from this Gaṇḡa Chieftain.

We find one Harisevaka Sāmantrāy of the Bhāradvājagotra and Rgveda, who received the grant of a village named Mukṭāpur from Mukṭāmālā Śrī Pātamahādevī, in the reign of one Mukunda Deva'. This Mukunda Deva may be identified with the first king of that name of the Bhoi dynasty of Khurda, who ruled from circa 1657-1679 A. D. The donee Harisevaka Sāmantrāya may be identified with the poet Harisevaka Kaviratna, who was also of the Bhāradvājagotra, and had the surname Sāmantrāya, before he got the title of Kaviratna. If that be the case, his date of birth may tentatively be fixed at 1670 A. D. and he was 53 years old when Purushottama Deva began his reign. Assuming that he finished this commentary in the beginning of the reign of his patron, this may be assigned to a period between 1728-1740 A. D.

Importance of this commentary :—

Our manuscript contains the commentary on only eight out of twenty-three Sargas of the original Kāvya and as such its value and importance cannot be properly assessed at the present state. But this much can be said that it is the first commentary so far known, written by an Oriya scholar, on this most popular Vaiṣṇava Kāvya of Bengal, which had circulation in a large part of India.

Secondly it clears the doubt about the authorship of the 'Govinda Lilāmṛta Kāvya' as the commentator definitely states at the beginning of his

8. *Ganjam District Manual* pp. 26-21, Pedda-kimedi, Chinna-kimedi and Digupudi are respectively called Bada-khemdi, Sana-khemdi and Diggahandi in Oriya.
V, Rangacharya-Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 697

T ikā after the introductory verses, that it was composed by Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Kavirāja e. g.

परमवैष्णवः श्रीमान् कृष्णदासः / / / गोविंदलीलामृतारण्यं
महाकाव्यं चिकीर्षुः

Late H. P. Shastri has given the credit of its authorship to Raghunātha Dāsa¹⁰. But the authorship of this famous Kāvya has been rightly attributed to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja by Sri Chintaharana Chakravarti,¹¹ which is corroborated by the quotation made above.

In this connection it may be noted that the main trend of the literature of Orissa both Sanskrit and Oriya shows that the Vaishṇava literature of Bengal was steadily gaining popularity among the poets and scholars of Orissa, from the middle of the seventeenth century and most of the works were either commented or imitated. So, we find Dāmodara the paternal uncle of the poet writing a commentary on 'Bhaktirasā nṛtaśilp' of Rūpa and another famous poet Kavibhūṣaṇa Goṛinda Samantaray, writing 'Saṃpldha Mādhava Nāṭaka' in imitation of 'Bīḍagḍhamādhava Nāṭaka' of Rūpa Gosvāmī. The discovery of the complete text of this commentary for which search is still being made, is expected to throw more light on this unknown poet and his works.

10. Shastri—*Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. VII, *Kavya Manuscripts*, Nos. 5195 and 5198.

11. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. L VII, 1928, p. 208 209

BRITISH CONQUEST OF ORISSA AND EARLY BRITISH ADMINISTRATIONS

S. C. De

Introduction of Salt Monopoly

History of Salt Industry in Orissa

Orissa is a sea-board country where salt-manufacture constituted a very important industry for centuries prior to the coming of the British. Stirling's remark in this connection is worth noticing. He says⁶⁸, "In this wild inhospitable tract the finest salt of all India is manufactured.. ." From this it is quite clear that the quality of the salt manufactured in Orissa was very high. From Motte's report in the 18th century (1766 A. D.) we come to know that the chief export of Orissa to neighbouring states was salt in exchange for which cotton and other goods were had.⁶⁹ Orissa salt had ready market in India, even out-side, on account of its fine quality.

Though it is generally believed that salt manufacture and trade in the commodity was carried on in Orissa from very ancient times, we have nothing to substantiate the tradition on the basis of historical evidence. Only in two inscriptions there is reference to salt. In one inscription of Chodaganga deva (1071-1141 A. D.) there is mention of "*lavana kara adhikari*"⁷⁰ that is, a salt-tax officer. In one inscription of Kapilendra deva (1435-66 A. D.) there is reference to "*lavana kara*" or salt tax.

From these two inscriptions it is quite evident that a tax on salt was levied by the kings of Orissa as early as the 11th century A. D.. These two inscriptions provide us with historical evidence about manufacture of salt in medieval Orissa. The manufacture was probably on a large as suggested by assessment of a tax on it,

We have no other evidence about the salt manufacture and trade in Orissa in the ancient period. Since Orissa is a sea-board country and there is a strong tradition of manufacture of and trade in salt in Orissa in the ancient period, it may be presumed that salt was manufactured in Orissa on a commercial scale much earlier than the 11th century A. D. as Orissa had

68. Stirling, *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

69. *Early European Traveller*, (Nagpur), pp. 22-23

70. *S. I. I.* Vol. V, No. 1035

over sea trade in the ancient period and had founded colonies in far off lands beyond the coast of Orissa, like Burma, Java, Sumatra etc.. Salt probably constituted the most important merchandise of the Oriya merchants carrying on over-sea trade, and the trade in the commodity contributed a good deal towards Orissa's past prosperity.

Salt Industry under the Marathas

Under the Maratha regime there was no State monopoly of salt. It was a private industry under-taken by the zamindars or Rajas owning lands on the coastal area. The zamindars used to lease out salt lands, *Malanga*, and fuel lands adjacent to them to the manufacturers, *Malangis*, who constituted a class by themselves and carried on the salt manufacture from ancient times. It may be noted here that the *malangis* were divided into two classes termed as *thani malangi* and *pahi malangi*. The former carried out the manufactures in their own places, while the latter changed places and worked in different places in different seasons. These people carried on the manufacture of salt on a hereditary basis. Of course they were not very well off, they eked out a meagre livelihood and were mostly exploited by the land-lords who appropriated half of produce as their share and the remaining half they purchased from the *malangis*, at a cheap cost. Thus the land-lords had the whole amount of salt manufactured in his land and sold them to traders at quite a good profit for themselves. The Government had nothing to do with the manufacture of salt, only a nominal transportation tax on the salt exported was levied. Thus salt manufacture was quite unrestricted. There was no scarcity of this essential commodity of food in the market which was regularly supplied with it not only by the merchants but also by individual *malangis* who manufactured small amounts on their own lands. Thus the price was incredibly low, i. e., 3-4 annas per maund at the place of manufacture and less than -/14/ in the market. This is borne out the facts recorded by Mr. Melville one of the 'Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack' in 1803 A. D. According to Col. Harcourt 'the price of salt in Cuttack seldom exceeded fourteen annas per Calcutta mound'.⁷² According to Mr. Melville the price of salt under the Marathas never exceeded five annas per mound. Thus, on the testimony of the above two officers we can say that the salt sold extremely cheap under the Marathas.

But after the British conquest of Orissa in 1803 A. D. the salt manufacture and trade in that commodity underwent a radical change. The Britishers could easily see the vast possibilities if the salt manufacture was organised on a commercial basis. Bengal would afford a ready market where there was not already enough in the market to meet the local needs. With this end in view the British authorities decided to introduce salt monopoly in Orissa all at once, without ever stopping to see how it would effect the economic condition of the newly conquered people of the province. They were guided by the sole consideration of their personal interest and launched upon the scheme with all expedition without study of the background of history relating to the subject. This naturally led to the inevitable consequence, namely, dislocation in the economic life of the people who grumbled deeply against the adverse effects of the system.

⁷² Ewer, *Selection from the Correspondences on the Settlement of Khurda*, Vol. I, pp. 46-47

Introduction of Salt Monopoly

In 1804 salt monopoly was introduced by a temporary regulation reserving to the Government the exclusive right of making salt in the province of Orissa or the district of Cuttaek as it was then called.⁷³ The manufacture of salt was immediately started in the northern division under the supervision of the magistrate. In 1805 A. D. Mr. J. King was appointed as the Salt Agent. In 1807 A. D. Bengal rules and regulations were introduced in the salt Department. In 1815 the monopoly was extended to the Southern Division and Mr. Becher was appointed the Salt Agent.

Under this system the salt-lands and fuel lands of the zamindars were taken over on payment of an allowance at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna per maund of salt manufactured. Subsequently they were also granted a *khoraiki* allowance at the rate of 15 seers per 100 maund of manufactured salt.

As the result of the monopoly the price of salt in the market shot up to an unprecedented degree. The merchant purchased salt from the government store at Rs. 2/- per maund and disposed of the salt to retailers at Rs. 2/10/- per maund.⁷⁴ The retailers on their part sold salt at an average price of Rs. 3/4/- per maund. Thus compared with the market price of salt during the Maratha regime varying between 4 annas to 14 annas per maund, the price of salt after the introduction of salt monopoly was certainly abnormal and unprecedented.

Not only did the price shoot up, this essential commodity of food became scarce in the market. Mr. Becher in his report to the Board of Trade said "sales of Government salt have been sufficiently extensive to afford ample provision for the inhabitants of Cuttack and the neighbouring states and that they have gradually increased annually."⁷⁵

Average annual sale of salt in the province during the years 1814-1816 amounted to 1,50,914 maunds. During the same period salt exported to Bengal annually amounted to 3,83,107 maunds.⁷⁶

Mr. Becher thought that the amount of salt sold in the province was more than sufficient calculated at $\frac{1}{2}$ chhatak per head per day for 5,37,013 souls.⁷⁷ The population of Orissa as calculated by the Becher was far below the actual figure. Mr. Richardson, one of the commissioners of Orissa (1813), estimated it at 15,000,00. Mr. Ewer calculated it at 11 lacs excluding Ali, Kujang and Kanika.⁷⁸ The population was not less than 12,000,00 if Ali Kujang and Kanika areas were included and also annual influx of pilgrims to Puri was taken into consideration. Calculating consumption of salt at $\frac{1}{2}$ chhatak p r day per head salt required for Orissa per year would amount $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of maunds. From this it would appear that scarcity of salt in the market was partly due to underestimation of the requirement of the province. Secondly the price was too high to permit unrestricted retail sale of the commodity. The

73. Toynbee, *History of Orissa*, p. 69.

74. From C. Becher to T. Plowden dated the 8th May, 1817 (vide appendix).

75. *Vide Becher's Report (Appendix)*.

76. *Mis. Volume, (Salt Department)*; O. S. A., No. 46, p. 53.

77. Becher's report, *Op. cit.*,

78. Ewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

retail-sellers were not encouraged to carry on the trade when they knew they would get no profit on account of the abnormal price. Thirdly, many people who used formerly to manufacture small quantity of salt for their own consumption and for sale of the surplus were debarred from manufacture under the Salt Regulations. Thus one of the most important sources of supply of salt to the interior was stopped. Consequently there was scarcity of salt in the market.

It may be noted that the Salt Agent received a Commission on the sale proceeds of salt. Thus he was interested in raising the income from the sale of salt as much as possible. The average cost of manufacture of salt in Orissa amounted to about 12 annas per maund, while it sold at Rs. 2/ per maund. Thus gross profit amounted to Re 1/4 per maund in the sale of salt in the province.

But the exported salt was sold at Rs. 350 per 100 maunds i. e. Rs. 3/8 per maund in Bengal; thus the gross profit amounted to Rs. 2/12 per maund. So sale of Orissa salt in Bengal was more in the interest of the Company in general and the Salt Agent in particular. Thus it may be clearly seen that the interest of the people of the province was utterly disregarded and overlooked for those of the Company and the Salt Agent. If permission had been given to private individuals for manufacturing small amount of salt and disposing of their small surplus in the interior as always had been the practice before the British rule, scarcity of salt in Orissa could have been averted to a great extent.

The introduction of salt monopoly in Orissa was thus a serious blow to the economic structure of the province. The ancient industry that materially contributed a lot towards Orissa's past prosperity and glory at last was done away with shattering what little remained of the ancient prosperity of Orissa after centuries of foreign rule under the Muslims, Mughals and the Marathas.

Behar's report in original is being published in extension for the information of the readers. For further details on the subject my paper, Salt monopoly in Orissa and its effects during the early British rule⁷⁹ may be referred to.

Depreciation in the value of cowry currency.

Past History of the Currency :—

Cowry currency was prevalent in Orissa in very olden days. Though in the present state of our knowledge we can not say definitely when and under what circumstances it came into use in Orissa, we can say this much that it was in use as far back as 8th-9th century A. D. when the Bhaumas were ruling over Utkala.⁸⁰ Since that time, if not earlier it was always prevalent in Orissa till the British came.

We do not know what was the relation between Silver and Cowry during Bhauma, Kesari, Ganga or the Gajapati rule in Orissa. According to

79. *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission* Vol. XXIX, pp. 19 ff.

80. Misra, *Orissa under Bhauma Kings*, p. 115 ll. 33-24.

Tavernier who visited India in the middle of the 17th century 80 cowries were exchanged for a *paiss* in the coastal region. Calculating on that basis, one rupee was equivalent to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Kāhāṇas* of Cowry. According to Hamilton (1727) one rupee was exchanged for 2500 (1 *kāhāṇ* 15½ *paṇas*) to 3000 (2 *kāhāṇas* 5½ *paṇas*) Cowries.⁸¹ Under the Marathas the rate of exchange between cowries and silver fluctuated from three to four *kāhāṇs* per *dep masha* rupee.⁸²

After British conquest in 1803 the official rate of exchange as fixed by Regulation XII of 1805 was 4 *kāhāṇs* 2 *gaṇḍas* of cowry per rupee. Thus there was slight depreciation in the value of cowry. Zamindars were given option to pay either in coin or in cowry till the year 1809 whereafter they were required to pay their revenue entirely in coin⁸³. In 1811 copper coinage was introduced. These two measures on the part of the British authorities had immediate effect of depreciating the value of cowry. By 1811 the price of cowry had fallen as low as 7 *kāhāṇas* per rupee. Thus the whole monetary system of Orissa was thrown into a chaotic and confused state. People unused to copper or silver coinage found it hard to meet the demands of the Zamindars requiring them to pay in coins. Zamindars themselves failed to pay up their revenues in coins. The money-lenders lent money to the needy Zamindars at an advance of 70 to 80 per cent on the Government rate of exchange on account of the depreciation in the value of the cowries in the market to that extent. Thus both the *rāyats* and the Zamindars were hard hit by sudden changes in the currency.

Depreciation in the value of cowries was stated as one of the causes of the Paik rebellion of 1817. A lot of correspondences between the authorities passed to ascertain the real truth of the complaint.* These correspondences brought to light many facts, but the real effect of the new innovation in the currency system of Orissa on the poor people, as also on the Zamindars, remained unascertained. It is because the authorities had no practical experience of the economic structure of Orissa in the interior and the long history attached to it. They tried to solve problems on theories and statistics. They failed to observe that the poor people who constituted the bulk of population carried on their daily transactions in cowries and copper or silver coinage for them was not at all advantageous. It may be noted that copper coinage was not a new invention of the British. It was prevalent under the Mughals and the Marathas side by side with the cowry currency. But the people were allowed to use either as they considered convenient to them. Most of the people carried on their transactions in cowries rather than in any other coinage. Thus the people were attached to the cowry currency as a matter of necessity and convenience to them. Besides by long use for centuries the system had become a part and parcel of the culture of the people of Orissa. The people were therefore not only shocked materially but also sentimentally. All these things were not taken into considerations by the authorities

81. O. H. R. J. Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 8

82. Strling, *An Account of Orissa*, p. 36

83. *Ibid.*

* Two letters are published *in extenso* in the Appendix,

in their overzealousness to do away with the barbarous currency and introduce in its place their civilised one. The result was that the whole thing was in a mesh for a time and the people suffered bitterly on account of chaos and confusion in the sphere of currency.*

* For further details See my paper, 'Cowry Currency in Orissa', O. H. R. J. Vol. I no. 2, pp. 10-21.

APPENDIX

To

J. P. Ward Esqr

Acting Secretary to the Board of Revenue.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, calling on me, by the orders of Government to furnish a report on certain points supposed to be connected with the present apparent disaffection of the inhabitants of this district. It has been my anxious endeavour from the commencement of the disturbance, to trace to the true sources, the causes which could possibly have given rise to such an unprecedented occurrence and I shall endeavour to lay before the Board such a statement as may I hope prove satisfactory.

2d. As the mainspring of the insurrection has been the arrival of Jugbondoo Bidadhar into the territory of Khoordah, with the avowed intention (as far as I can learn) of carrying off the Rajah of Koordah, and restoring him to the whole of his former possessions in this province, I shall before I proceed to enter on the points proposed, beg leave to state, the nature and extent of the Rajah's claims.

In former times nearly the whole of Cuttack including those estates denominated Ghurjats were subject to the Rajah of Khoordah, but in process of time, the sovereignty devolved by conquest to the Mogul Government with the exception of killah Khoordah, and the pergunnahs of Rahang, Serrain, Chowbeesood and Limbai which include Pooree or Poorsottum Chetter which contained subject to the Rajahs of Khoordah.

About the year 1751 the Mahratta Government by conquest also obtained possession of Cuttack when the Ghurjats became Tributary to them. The Khoordah Rajahs however continued in possession of the territory abovementioned on paying a tribute of 24000 rupees per annum.

At this period, or antecident thereto, the legitimate descendant of the Khoordah family had been dispossessed and a natural son was in the enjoyment of the Estates, the legal descendant Rajah Narrain Deo who resided on the coast invaded Khoordah with a view to the recovery of his rights, and to repel this invasion the Rajah then in possession (I believe the father of Mokoond Deo) applied to the Mahratta Government for assistance, which was granted on condition of his defraying the expense of the equipment, and paying a stipulated sum in money. Narrain

The family still reside on the coast and occasionally visit the temple at Jugganat.

Deo having been expelled, the Khoordah Rajah was called on for the performance of his engagements, but being unable to answer the demand, ceded either in perpetuity or till the liquidation of his debt, the pergunnahs of Limbai, Rahang Serrain and Chowbeesood together with the collections on Pilgrims resorting to the temple at Juggurnauth and on the conquest of the Province by the British arms these Estates were found under the Khas Management of the Mahratta Government.

3d. The circumstance of Rajah Mokoond Deo having opposed the British Troops and the arrangements consequent thereto, the Board are informed of, but it may be necessary to state, that killah Roorung, which formed part of the ceded pergunnahs, was the property by purchase of the ancestors of Jugbundoo Bidadhar, who were hereditary Buxees to the Khoordah Rajahs, and were also connected with them by marriage, and who subesquent to the cession of the pergunnahs, continued to hold killah Roorung in Zemindarree tenure a dispute a however having taken place between Jugabundoo and his uncle who was at that time in possession, the former, murdered his uncle, and fled to escape punishment in consequence of which, I understand the Estate became forfeited to the Government.

The Board are already fully acquainted with the claims preferred some time since by Jugabundoo to Roorung, the objections he made to its being annexed to the purchase of Kishen Chandra Sing, of its being separated therefrom, and Jagabandhu referred to the Courts to substantiate his pretensions. I have only therefore to observe, that being disappointed in his views, and without the means of subsistence he has excited the present disturbance with a view to restore the Rajah, and thereby secure his own independence.

That the
Raja did
favour his
views, ad-
mits of little
doubt.

Admitting that Jugabundoo from his former situation possessed considerable influence over the minds of the people in Khoordah, admitting also, that the Khoordah Rajah himself favoured the views of Jugabundoo still, I cannot think that the inhabitants would have risked their lives, property, and Families in so unequal a struggle unless they suffered extreme hardships and oppressions from the Government to which they were subject, and felt, that any change that took place in their condition, must be for the better.

22nd Novem-
ber 1813
1st July 1816
28th July „
6th August „
2nd Sept. „
20th March
1817.

My opinion on the state of Khoordah, the impolicy, not to say injustice of the settlements that have been made and the impossibility of realizing the last one, are so fully detailed in the letters (addressed to Mr. Richardson and the Board) noted in the margin, that I have nothing left to say on the subject further than to request that the Board will submit to Government copies of those letters; at the same time they forward this report.

I shall now proceed to reply separately to the several points noticed in the proceedings of Government.

(III)

It is natural to conclude that any man who loses his Estate against his will under whatever circumstance, should feel discontent, and as a very great proportion of the original zemindars of this district, are thus situated, it may be said, that to a certain extent, the sales of lands which have taken place since the period of our acquisition of the province, have tended to create discontent, though I never recollect to have heard the subject ever mentioned as a grievance, till the present enquiry was instituted, since which numberless trifling complaints have been brought forward, which I am confident never before entered into the minds of any individual in the district; The sale of lands in default payment of Revenue, can never in itself be considered as a hardship, particularly under the regulations of the British Government where generally speaking every possible indulgence is shown to the zemindar, the sale of whose lands is seldom resorted to, unless the arrear has evidently accumulated, from inattention, extravagance, or other unjustifiable evasions. But if it appears that the mode of sale (from whatever cause) does not afford to the proprietor an opportunity of obtaining the fair value of his lands, then, such sale must be considered as a hardship, and a just cause of complaint, in as much as it deprives him of his property, without his receiving a fair compensation.

1. The extensive sales of land which have taken place since the period of our acquisition of the Province is a question,

It appears to me that there are two grounds of complaint, respecting sales of land, the first is, the disposing of estates in Calcutta the Jumma of which exceed Rs. 5000 and the other, permitting native officers of Government holding situations in the District to become purchasers of lands sold at the Collector's office.

There are very few Oreeh zemindars (scarcely one I believe) who have Agents in Calcutta, that they are in fact almost entirely precluded from the possibility of purchasing any of the lands sold at the office of the Board and as the Bengalees who purchase are generally unacquainted with the actual resources of the estate advertised and are guided principally by the amount of the sudder Jumma, the probability is that an Estate of considerable value may be knocked down at a price far below that it would have brought, had it been sold in Cuttack. The Board will perhaps recollect the case of Prandhun Choudory, proprietor of Talooka Bulbudderpore, which was sold in Calcutta in 1812 for a very trifling sum which was due on account of Interest, though he had executed the usual engagements for the payment of the same at this office, as communicated by me to the Board in a letter under date the 25th December 1812, with a recommendation that they would be pleased to take his case into their favourable consideration. Had Prundhan Chowdree had an agent, or any friend in Calcutta, it is not probable they would have allowed a valuable Estate to be sold for so trifling a balance.

This evil I conceive might be remedied by advertising Estates of the above description to be put up to sale on the same day at the office of the Board and the Collector's cutcherry, the condition of the sale being, that the highest bidder at either of the two places should be considered the purchaser.

Of the evil of permitting Native officers of Government holding situations in the District to purchase lands at public sale, I have had many proofs, and in a letter addressed to the late Commissioner under date the 1st October, 1813, I stated my sentiments on the subject, not only does the influence of these people prevent the Oreaahs from entering into competition with them in the purchase of lands, but if any of their own Estates are in arrears, the Oreaahs are deterred from appearing as purchasers, lest they should incur their enmity—but to avoid loss they (the native Omlah) contrive to purchase their own estates, through the intervention of some convenient friend.

To al no. of
Estates in
District in-
dependent of
Ambutahies
2240.

It appears from the accompanying statement No. 7, that from December, 1806 to December, 1816 a period of 10 years the number of Estates sold by public auction have been 1011 which gives an average of 101 yearly and considering the number of Estates in the District, and how very trifling some of them are, I should not think the number disposed of any thing extraordinary, or more than what is probably the case in other zillahs and it must also be recollected that some of those estates were the Khas property of Government.

nos. 3, 5, 7,
10, 14, 15,
24, 25, 27
30, 31, 32
34, 41, 42
46, 47, 48
55, 56, 61
68, 69, 73
82, 83, 84
133, 146,
173, 187.

On a reference to statement No. 1 it will be found that out of the above mentioned sales 350 have been purchases by Foreigner's, the Jumma of whose purchases amounted to 442804 rupees from which it is evident that the principal Estates have gone into their hands. The Board will further remark that of those, 350235 have been purchased by persons holding official situations under Government direct in their own names, or indirectly by their relations, and dependents, and by a reference to the price paid for those mehal (more particularly during the four or five first years) they cannot fail to discover strong marks of that undue influence, complained of by me. But as the number of Bengalees have increased in the District, and advanced in opulence, greater competition has taken place between themselves and a somewhat fairer market established—The jumma of the Lots marked in the margin was 121695 rupees, and the money paid for them at sale 46205 which can be considered as little better than downright robbery—I am however inclined to think that greater cause of complaint exists on the score of private transfer of property than of public sales—Within the same period as that above mentioned (viz-10 years) the transfer of property by private contract has amounted to 1070387 rupees, and in one day a Police Darogah sold mehals to the value of 50,000 rupees which he had purchased for 21,000 and this is only a small portion of the landed property of the District that has passed through his hands—Here again the same influence is clearly visible.

vide—ac-
companying
copy of a
letter under
date 16th
August 1813—
to, 16

Many cases of unfair dealing might be brought forward, but as they would require close investigation they cannot properly be introduced in this report—I shall however beg leave to refer the Board to one gross instance of fraud on record, by a man who still holds his situation in any office,* and I particularly wish to bring this to their notice because, it shows the manner in which the Oreaahs

have been deprived of their estates, and Bulbudder Chowdhree the sufferer, has been foremost among the Insurgents to take forcible possession of his lost property.

The fluctuation of the assessment under the system of temporary settlement, cannot well be pleaded as a cause of disaffection in the province of Cuttack, when it is considered that the system of annual settlements existed for 60 years under the Mahratta Government that these were not conducted with the same care and attention to the interests of the Individuals concerned as the regulation of the English Government requires, but were entrusted to the amils of the several Divisions, and were altogether arbitrary. Instead of disaffection in consequence of such temporary settlements I would say they are disappointed and discontented and with good reason. The first proclamation of the Government published in the province, promised a permanent settlement at the expiration of a certain number of years. Mr. Buller in 1216 gave the zemindars reason to hope that his settlement would prove permanent, and Mr. Richardson did the same, yet since the latter gentleman has left the District, two Regulations have been promulgated continuing that assessment for one and for two years and another temporary settlement is about to take place. My own opinion which is formed from much conversation on the subject with the inhabitants of the District, is that a Decennial settlement would be very agreeable to the zemindars—provided they had a positive assurance, that at the end of that period a permanent assessment would be made—But as ten years is fully sufficient to bring into cultivation waste lands I conceive it would be more satisfactory to the District and equally advantageous to Government to make settlement which for 10 years (or less as circumstances may suggest) should be progressive in its Jumma such as of course; to depend on the lands to be added to the produce of the Estate, and give the zemindars a promise at once, that this settlement was to be permanent and no further alteration whatever made respecting it.

2nd. The constant fluctuation of the assessment under the present system of temporary settlements,

Under this head I shall beg leave to make a few observations respecting the settlements that have lately been formed by me, and the enquiries I have instituted with a view to the formation of the future settlement of the District at large—I have given it as my opinion publicly that this province is not over-assessed, but on the contrary that previously to a permanent settlement Government have every right to expect a considerable increase to the jumma, and I still maintain my assertion to be correct*. In former years, when a zemindar relinquished the management of his estate on the plea of over assessment, the method pursued was, that of deputing an aumeen to take charge and after sending a Hustabood to the Collector's office orders were given without further enquiry, to make the collections accordingly and the result invariably was a loss to Government of nearly one half of the original Jumma, though it was notorious that many of those Estates were extremely lucrative to the proprietors, the fact is it was supposed that the settlement formed by Mr. Richardson would prove permanent and the dissenting Proprietors entertained a hope that by pleading over assessment they would be allowed for the first year, or two to resume their Estates on the Hustabood Jumma sent in by

*Independent waste lands, nearly 40,000 rupees annual jumma of lands, are held by individuals who have no sort of claim thereto.

The jumma
of 79 Estates
remaining is
only 16708.

the Aumeens (after deducting Malikannah) and probably be required to give by rissud the former Jumma which would then become permanent. Being aware of this, when in July last so many proprietors relinquished their estates, I proposed the Establishment of a sudder Khas Duffer, which was complied with, I sent out Mohurirs from this Duffer to such places I thought necessary, but merely with instructions to report on the general state of the mehal, leaving all engagements to be ultimately made by myself when the season would admit of my proceeding to the interior of the District, and wherever I had cause to suppose that a man made a false report I instantly removed him, the consequence of which was, that the zamindars finding it useless to bribe the persons deputed, soon began to petition to be allowed to resume charge of their Estates and out of the list submitted by me to the Board in July last 81 resumed their estates and with the exception of 79 the others have been settled without loss either with the moeuddums or the persons who originally held the lands, very few indeed have been farmed to persons who are not some way or other connected with the Estates. But these settlements have not been made without a strict and minute enquiry into their actual present resources, and capabilities of future improvements. They have not been made on speculation but from the measurement of land in cultivation and the increase assessed by rissud, has been on that, which could be rendered productive and I am ready to prove to the satisfaction to the Board that no single estate is overassessed, but on the contrary, that if the Raettes are fairly treated, every one of them will yield a handsome profit to the holder. I was aware that in some Estates of late years, the purchasers had made unwarrantable demands, on the Ryutts to avoid therefore falling into the same error I examined the Putwarries accounts and ascertained the nerick of the lands for many years back and feel confident, that if the average rate adopted by me is adhered to by zamindars, and any means can be devised to bring the cowrie more on a level with the Rupee in value, the Raetts would shortly become comparatively rich and independent—Those zamindars who have not relinquished their estates, but who have watched my proceedings, feel assured if the future settlement is entrusted to me that I shall pursue the same measures with them that I have adopted on the khas mehals, and they will leave no means untried to impress the Government with an idea of their extreme poverty and the difficulty they experience already from the heavy assessment of their lands. They openly declare that they never can pay their Revenues unless they get 3 annas where Government gets a rupee, or in other words unless they derive a profit of 50 per cent on their estates and most of them are ready to acknowledge that they already collect 25 per cent. They are unwilling to make any allowance for lands out of cultivation, and which they might with ease immediately render productive, but expect no notice whatever is to be taken of them. It is far from my wish (and many of my proceedings before the Board prove it) to make an unreasonable demand from the Proprietors of Estates. It would not only be injurious to the interests of Government as it respects the land itself, but tend undoubtedly to render

the cultivators discontented, but although Government are tenderly tenacious of the right and comforts of their subjects they are not I conceive willing to relinquish their own, and as long as I act according to the regulations laid down for my conduct, and do not depart in any respect from my duty the fear of clamour will never deter me from acting as I think that duty requires. I have thought it necessary to say this much because I know that attempts will be made to cast much of the supposed discontent on the enquiries instituted by me, and I am anxious that Government should know how far, and on what principles those enquiries have been carried on, and be able to decide whether they can be considered as just causes of complaint.

On the subject of cowries I shall beg leave to refer the Board to the accompanying copy of a letter addressed by me to the Accountant General so far back as the 1st of December 1812, when that letter was written I had been but very short time in the province, but the experience of five years has served to confirm in my mind the sentiments therein expressed

3rd. The heavy loss to which the zemindars are subject from the depreciation of cowries.

The introduction of Copper pice with a view to supersede the cowrie currency has failed in its anticipated good effects, but in my opinion, it has principally failed from having been opposed by the monied men, and principal zemindars in the District as tending greatly to reduce their profits in the traffic of cowries.

The depreciation in price of cowries cannot by any means be a matter of surprise, when it is recollected that Sicca rupees only are received in payment of Revenue, and that more than two thirds of the rupees collected are annually carried out of the District, the consequence of which is that silver is so scarce, that it is only to be purchased at an advance of from 70 to 80 per cent on the value originally affixed to the cowree currency by Government. If, however cowrees were in such abundance as is generally supposed, those who purchase them with rupees at such a high rate, would soon have more than they could dispose of, and instead of proving an advantage would be a dead weight on their hands. But the fact is that cowries are only procurable to a certain extent and as at particular seasons of the year they are in greater demand than at others, those who possess them may make some profit thereby, but the cowrie business is principally an affair of accounts on paper, or of Dr. and Cr. between the money lender and the Ryutt which I shall endeavour to explain,

All zemindaree accounts are on the first instance computed in cowries, that being the circulating medium in the mofussil, and better understood by the ryutts than rupees—A ryutt engages to rent from the land-holder eight beegahs of land, producing various crops agreeably to the value of which the assessment is made and we will suppose the total assessment of the 8 beegahs to amount to 144 khawuns of cowries. To this added on account Kurchas 2 pans for Khawun (and frequently a long list of other demands) making on the whole 162 khawuns which are termed into rupees at the Government rate of exchange of 4 Khawuns per rupee

Vide Statement No. 15.

making sicca rupees 40-5 for which sum the ryotts signs a Qubouliat. As the Mofussil and Bazar rate of couries is from 6 to 7 khawans the rupee. The Ryott to enable him to pay the sum for which he stands engaged, must sell the produce of his land for 20 khawuns of cowries instead of 162 the rate at which it was calculated in the first instance, and if the season is favourable, and he can keep his grain till good market is afforded—he is some times able to do this and even make some profit besides. But if from calamity of season, scarcity of rupees or any other accident, he is unable to pay his revenue by the time required he is obliged to have recourse to a Mahajan to advance his money who debits him in his Books at the rate of 7 khawuns (more or less for the rupee, besides adding Interest discount, price of stamp paper for a bond etc all of which is to be paid from the next year's produce. If instead of going to a Mahajan he goes to his zemindar and offers to pay his revenue in couries the land holder will not receive them at the rate at which he originally assessed the land 162 khawans, but demands 7 khawuns the rupee as the qubooliat was signed for sicca rupees, which he himself must pay to Government. Thus the Ryott loses in the exchange from 2 to 3 khawuns, becomes involved in debt, and deserts the Estate, the consequence of which is, that the zemindar, is obliged to let out his lands to Poor Ryotts (residing in other estates) at a reduced Merick and in his turn becomes a sufferer from the cowries exchange.

In the letter above alluded to I stated that were I desired to purchase a Lac of rupees of cowries at the bazar price, I could not effect it and I am still of the same opinion, admitting however that a much larger sum could be collected, even to the amount of three lakhs of rupees, still I conceive provided Government fixed Merick for the whole District, and consented to receive cowries in payment of revenue, no inconvenience would be experienced, because, the sums thus collected could again be disposed of in the following manner. The expenses of the temple, and all pensions including Unnachutter charges, repairs of embankments and the expenses of the new road, all public buildings, diet to prisoners in jail and I think I may add the salt Molungees would be well pleased to be paid in couries, indeed so long as Government consented to receive the courie in payment of revenue no reasonable objection could be made by any one to receive them as the wages of labour etc. as however the receipt of cowries in payment of Revenue, could solely have in view the amelioration of the condition of the ryotts, it would be essentially necessary that some merick should be fixed for the whole District, and no higher demand on any account allowed. If this were not the case the zemindars and shroffs would probably not relax in their demands on the Ryotts, but turn the indulgence of Government into a source of very considerable profit.

Another advantage in my opinion likely to result from fixing the value of cowries and ascertaining its exact relative value with the rupee, would be that the objections at present made to the Copper pice, would vanish, because the Mahajans and zemindar finding no longer any advantage in speculating in cowries would I shall conceive in preference receive the copper pice, as being less bulky and less perishable, and thus in course of time copper currency might be established in Outtaek as completely as it is in

the province of Bengal. As the exchange between the rupee and the cowree depends entirely in the scarcity or abundance of the former to be found in the market, any means that could be devised to keep rupees in the District would not fail to have the effect of bringing it nearer on a level with the cowree currency, and one means I think it would be, that of discontinuing the present system of granting to individuals bills on the General Treasury at a premium of one per cent. The holders of specie, not finding the same facility of transmitting their cash to Calcutta, would be induced to attempt the exportation of Rice, Cloths, Dyes, Wax and other articles procurable in this District which are saleable in Calcutta, and a commercial intercourse between the two places once established would lead more than any thing else to the improvement of this District.

In the year 1211 the Collections under Mr. Melville were made in cowrees, the rate fixed was 4 khawuns, the Mofussil rate at that period being about Khs. 3-12ps. The sums thus collected were almost immediately disposed of being purchased by the Mhajuns for the purpose of retailing them again in the Mofussil from which they derived a very considerable profit. As the exchange now stands, purchasers could not of course be found, but I am told that not a doubt is to be entertained that in the event of Government receiving cowrees into the treasury at 1 khawuns or any rate it might be thought proper to fix, the Mofussil rate would in a very short time fall down to Khs. 3-3ps. in which case Government would always dispose of any quantity they might have to advantage and till such time as this effect was produced, they could be disbursed in the mode above suggested—I fear I may not have explained myself sufficiently clear but the subject is in itself intricate, and I feel much difficulty in committing my opinions to paper.

Whatever the real causes may be, or where the fault may lie, I confess myself quite unable to decide, but certain it is, that the cry for salt is general throughout the district, not only is the high price complained of, a price, which is said to preclude the lower classes of people from purchasing it, but the difficulty of procuring it, even by those who can afford to pay for it. I have conversed with many zemindars as well as Ryottos on the subject, by whom the following causes are enumerated.

4th. The enhanced price of salt and the difficulty of procuring it, even at an advanced price.

That the merchants purchase it at the Government price and retail it at an exorbitant increase, that the chokey Darogahs levy a duty of 1 anna per maund on the passage of salt through their respective chokees, that sufficient shops are not established in the Mofussil, and that Molungees are very ill-paid, and forced to give a greater weight than is required by Government. To this I may add that during my tour of the District, it was with the greatest difficulty I could procure sufficient salt for the daily consumption of my camp—How far these complaints are founded in truth, or how far exaggerated I do not presume to say, doubtless, the salt agent can give a much more satisfactory account than I am able to do.

5th. The rigor with which the payment of the land revenue is exacted.

I know not whether this is intended to refer to any rigor exercised by the Collector and his Omlah, or to the proprietors of Estates. If the former, I know of none, on the contrary I think great indulgence is shown, but if it refers to the latter—I am of opinion that great rigor and severity is frequently exercised and particularly by the officers of Government who hold estates and by Farmers. Independent of the regular land assessment, the Ryutts are burthened with many unauthorized Abwabs, and it was with a view to prevent such impositions, that I proposed to the Board, the exchange of Pottah and Qubooleats between the zamindars and the cultivator of the soil, should be drawn out on stamp paper of a very trifling price, till the period of its permanent settlement, by which means the Ryutts would ascertain what he had to pay, and if any unauthorized demand was introduced, it would not be recoverable in court, at present the demands are nearly arbitrary and certainly oppressive.

The payment of interest on arrears of kists considering the difficulty of procuring specie, is I think a great hardship, the money lenders frequently refuse to advance cash till the day of sale, and then demand at the rate of 40 per cent. Sree Krishna Dass a shroff of Bhyrab Sunkar Chowdree Treasurer to the court are almost the only money-lenders in the district, and some idea of their profits may be formed from Bhyrab Sunkar Chowdree having remitted through my treasury since January, 1815, the large sum of 80,000 rupees, and within the same period purchased lands to the amount of 7873—The mofussil kistbundee differs considerably from the Hazooriee, and almost generally throughout the District, 12 pans are demanded from the Ryutts before the month of January—The consequence of such early demands, is that the Ryutt is compelled to dispose of his Grain at a considerable loss, whereas by keeping it, he might be enabled to obtain a much more favourable price.

6th The disappointment experienced at the postponement of the permanent settlement.

An answer to this is contained in the reply given to the 2nd proposition, my sentiments on the settlement are before the Board already, a permanent settlement could not fail to be agreeable to the District, but unless such settlement was to be made for a certain number of years progressive in its Jumma, the interests of Government would suffer materially.

Having replied separately to the several points noticed in the proceedings of Government. I shall proceed to state those circumstances which in my opinion, more than any others have tended to create disgust and discontent in the minds of the inhabitants of this District. The Board desire me to confine my remarks to the points relating to revenue, the proceedings of Government however would appear to require much more and that every circumstances supposed to be connected with the apparent discontent, should be distinctly mentioned and fully reported on, and I feel it to be my duty to give my sentiments undisguised and freely. I am by no means seeking causes in other departments with a view to throwing off any blame that can fairly attach to my own. It has been my study to clear my own office from every abuse which existed; and since my return from the Cape—I have been my

own Dewan and my own Sheristadar and not an order or a paper has proceeded from my office, but what has been dictated by myself. I am Solely responsible for all acts emanating therefrom, and if any thing appears improper or unjust, if an opportunity is afforded me, I doubt not I shall be able to give a satisfactory explanation of it, I have no right to doubt that those at the head of other departments have been less zealous or active in their enquiries than myself and I am willing to give them credit for having been equally so, but I do not think the same opportunities of research and enquiry have been afforded them and that consequently they have not been so successful I believe I am the first and only officer of the Government that has hitherto visited the interior of the District, I have travelled through the greatest part of it, conversed with all classes of people from the highest to the lowest, and certainly the complaints against the Police, and the Moonsifs exceed any thing I could have supposed—a regular system of oppression and speculation appears to exist throughout and instead of proving a protection to the country and a preventive against improper conduct, these people are considered the terror and the scourge of the district, and by their example lead the way to every thing that is inequities.

I should be sorry that my single statement should be depended on, I appeal to the District at large, who have only been prevented from bringing forward publicly their complaints (if their own statements are to be credited) by the fear of incurring the hatred of the Amlah at the head of the Department.

The oppression exercised by the Police is by no means of late date, it has existed at least since 1813 and I have always considered (and expressed it publicly as well as privately) that the district of Cuttack was in this respect the most important of any in the company's provinces, we all know what the salary of a police Darogah is, and we also know generally speaking from what class of natives they are selected, and it is therefore impossible (at least in my mind) to account for the sudden rise of these people to riches and consequence, unless by giving credit, to their unwarrantable exactions.

In my letter of the 22nd November, 1813, above alluded to, I had occasion to remark at that time on the conduct of the Police Darogah of Khoordah, this man still holds that situation and he told me himself that in the late burning of Khoordah he had lost property to the value of between 40 and 50,000 rupees when it is recollected that most of the Darogahs and Moonsifs are situated at a distance from the Sudder station (out of the reach of the eye of the Magistrate) where they can carry on their exactions almost I may say, without the fear of detection—It is scarcely to be wondered at that such abuses exist, and the Head of a Department is generally the last to hear of abuses carrying on in his own office—It is true Judges of Circuit occasionally visit the District, but confined all day to the cutcherry and surrounded by those very people who are implicated in guilt—They are not very likely to gain much insight into the true state of the country. That in fact they quit the district without an opportunity of conversing with the zemindars or Ryotts who can alone point out the difficulties under which they labour,

I must candidly confess, that I do not think any of the points noticed by Government, can be considered as causes of disaffection—Neither do I think that disaffection towards the British Government exists (in Khoordah excepted) not a single zemindar in possession of his estate, either Malgoozar or Lakhirajdar—or whose estate is under khas management, has openly evinced any inclination to revolt—Jugbundoo's object was to create as much confusion as possible in district at large—and he could not more effectually produce this, than by persuading those zemindars who had lost their lands, that they have been ill treated, and by instigating them to revolt—He studiously propagated a report, that a Mahratta army was about to invade Cuttack, to rescue the province from the Hands of the English, and the Board will recollect that I mentioned this report was abroad in January last, and it is by no means improbable, that had Jugbundoo's success continued, many zemindars would have considered that they were consulting their own interests in joining the standard of rebellion. I have been informed (but how far correctly I will not pretend to say) that the whole of the tributary Rajahs, from Mahurbwenja to Goomsur, were in league with the Khoordah Rajah, that the first success on the part of the insurgents was to have been the signal for joining in the revolt, and that had Pooree remained many days longer in their possession the whole district would have been in arms—when it is considered that the tributary Rajahs hold their estates on terms much more favourable, than they did under the Marhatta Government, want of faith on their part is unaccountable, unless we are to look upon the present unpleasant disturbance, in the light of a crusade, the object of which was to expel the English from all interference with the land of Poorsootum Chitter.

I feel pretty confident that the irruption of Jugbundoo into Khoordah with a view to carrying off the Rajah, was not a resolution formed on a sudden, but a plan decided in some months before and Charn Patnaik who was the first man there murdered long ago reported that Jagabandhu was tempering with the Dulberrar and principal surberakars.

I mention this from having heard that such a measure has been suggested.

I have already observed that the inhabitants of Khoordah have been hardly treated—but have not thought it necessary under existing circumstances to offer any opinion as to ameliorating their condition in future, I should however think it highly impolitic at present to dispose of the estate by sale, even should the Rajah be altogether deprived of it.

I might in this report have been more full on those points which are connected with the question of a permanent settlement of the District, but as I have so frequently troubled the Board with my opinions on that subject I should only have been repeating sentiments which are already before them and which, I trust (if they consider necessary) they will submit to Government, I shall only therefore in conclusion add, that the employment of Bengalees in all public situations under Government to the total exclusion (almost) of those who served under the former Government has naturally created disgust amongst that class of people—Many of whom are I believe persons of respectability and qualified to hold

(XIII)

situations of trust, and responsibility—The population of the District is altogether it may be said Hindoo, and the greater portion of Bramin caste, and I am therefore of opinion that the appointment of Mussalman to distant situations in the Mofussil is very objectionable, particularly to situations of extensive influence in which they may be guilty of committing acts offensive to the prejudices of the Hindoos, though such acts if complained of, might at first view appear of trifling importance.

It can not be supposed that I would propose to exclude altogether from office men of the Mussalman faith to the employment of whom under the immediate control of the head of a Department no objection can arise, but I consider the province of Cuttack in a manner distinct from the other provinces under the English Government. It is exclusively Hindoo, and when in subjection to the Mogul Government the strictest rules were observed in protecting the prejudices of the natives from insult or derision.

It had been reported to Government that independent of Khoordah and Jugbundoo causes of complaint do exist in Cuttack (whether or not the present disturbances are occasioned thereby) and if the enquiries now instituted, have the effect of bringing to light hidden abuses which can be prevented in future (in whatever Department they are to be found) it will at least be some good arising out of a great evil.

It cannot fail to be highly satisfactory to every civil authority in the district (I can at least answer for myself) that a minute and impartial local investigation should take place. We are told from all quarters that the disturbances are attributed to the oppressions of the civilians and our characters as men and as public servants, in a great measure, depend on the result of such an investigation.

The statements which accompany this report, a list of which is annexed, are calculated, to throw some light on the present enquiry. The one marked No. 12 I must confess I do not understand, neither do any of my Amlah. It is extracted from the records of the Sudder Canungoes office and relates to the Peeskeuch and fees paid by the Khoordah Rajahs to the former Government. The others are taken from the records of my own office and require no explanation.

Zillah Cuttack,
The 23rd May, 1. 17
Collector's Office.

I am etc.
Sd W. Trower
Collector

To

H. Mackenzie Esqr.

Secretary to the Government, Territorial Department.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 11th Instant, transmitting Extracts of reports from the several authorities mentioned in the Margin, respecting the supposed inconvenience experienced by the several classes among the inhabitants of Cuttack, from the depreciation of Cowries.

2d. The Circumstance having been stated as one of the causes to which the discontent prevalent in that district may be ascribed, the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is desirous of being furnished with my opinion, how far any real inconvenience has resulted from the Alleged cause, which it may be in the power of Government to remedy.

3d. With this view it may be useful to enquire what complaint arising from the state of the currency in Cuttack, appear to have been brought from time to time to the notice of Government, prior to the date of any of the present reports on that subject, and what measures were adopted by Government to obviate the inconvenience complained of.

4th. Under Regulation XII, of 1805, Cowries were to be receivable at the rate of four Kawons per Sicca Rupee in payment of the Revenue of Cuttack at the option of the Land-holder, until the expiration of the Willait year 1215 (1808).

5th. The Public Accounts do not show that many Landholders availed themselves of this intended indulgence, and the Collector of Cuttack explained the reason in a letter to the Accountant General dated the 1st of December 1812—At that time he observes Cowries bore a higher price, than what was the Government rate of Exchange, being then 3 ks. 14 Ps. 10 Gs. for the Rupee; had cowries therefore at that time, been to be had in plenty, of courses the Zemindars would have disposed of them at that price, in preference to paying them into the Company's Treasury at the Exchange of $\frac{4}{3}-2$. This therefore accounts for their not having availed themselves of the indulgence; but the fact is, Cowries have never been in sufficient quantities, to admit of the Revenue being paid in them."

"The rate of exchange of Cowries, "Mr. Trower adds" for the years 1214/15 and 16 Umlee, was as follows :—

	Ks.	Ps.	Gs.
1214	3	14	1
1215	4	0	0
1216	4	6	0"

Accountant
General
Office.

Extract
from a letter

from the
board of

Revenue

dated the
1st June

1817.

Do.
from the

Collector of

Cuttack

addressed to

the Secy.

to the

board of

Revenue

bearing

the the

1st May

17 with

statement

Do.

Do.

Do.

Do.

Do.

Do.

Do.

6th. Hence it would appear that up to the year 1809, or for five years after Cuttack became subject to the British Government, no cause of discontent is to be found in "the state of the cowry currency of that District."

7th. The earliest complaint which I can find respecting the Currency of Cuttack, occurs about twelve months after, in a letter from the Acting Collector Mr. Mitford, to the Board of Revenue dated the 20th September 1810 tho' even then, no mention is made of the *Depreciation of Cowries*. The Complaint was confined to the effect of an order which had been issued, prohibiting the receipt of Rupees of ports, in payment of Revenue, after the Willaity year 1217/1810.

8th. The effectual remedy applied by Government on this occasion was, to annul the order, and no complaint I believe on this point has ever since been made.

9th. The alleged depreciation of Cowries in Cuttack, appear to have been first brought to the notice of Government in the month of January 1812, and all the elucidation of the subject which was furnished, is contained in two letters, one dated the 24th of December 1811, from Mr. Scott Waring, Collector of Cuttack; the other dated the 1st of December 1812, from Mr. Trower his successor, the present Collector of that District—As the direct testimony of such local authorities, is of great Moment in forming a judgment of this subject, as a cause of discontent, I shall beg leave to quote largely from these two letters, for the information of Government.

10th. With Mr. Scott Waring's letter, a Petition was transmitted from the Principal Zemindars of the District, wherein he observes "they complain of the heavy loss they sustain at the high rate at which they receive Rupees from their Ryutts, and the low rate they pay them into the Company's Treasury. That is, the usual rate at which they receive Rupees in the Mofussil, is from 6 to 7 Khawons, while the rate established by the Government, is 4 Khawons per sicca Rupee."

"The heavy loss does not immediately, although it will eventually affect the Zemindars, as they take the Rupee from the Ryutts at the Company's rate; but their Estates can not be, generally speaking, sufficiently productive, to bear so heavy an advance on the Original Jumma."

"The Petitioners beg, either that Government would reduce the exchange to 4 Kawons or that it would take the Cowries at the rate which it has established, or make a proportionate reduction in their Jumma."

11th. Mr. Waring observed that the seriousness of the evil, and not the moderation of the Petitioners request, had induced him to bring the subject forward. He recommended either that pice should be introduced into the District, was to supersede the Cowry Currency, or that cowries should be received partially, in payment of Revenue, and afterwards sold for the benefit of the Zemindars.

12th. My Predecessor Mr. Egerton, to whom Mr. Waring's letter was referred, naturally supposed that some sudden influx of Cowries had disturbed the relation of value between Rupees and Cowries in the District, and had occasioned this depreciation from 4 Cawons to 7 Cawons per Rupee. He immediately wrote to Mr. Waring for more accurate information respecting the cause of this alleged depreciation, observing that if it were a real depreciation occasioned by an increase of the quantity of Cowries in circulation, the evil would soon correct itself, 'as the Ryots would in that case require 7 Cawons of Cowries per Rupee in disposing of their produce, for which they formerly only required 4, which would enable them to exchange their Cowries for rupees, and pay their rents to the Zemindars without sustaining any loss.'

"It will be evident," Mr. Egerton observed," from the 2nd Paragraph of your letter, if this were not the case, that the Ryots have suffered a loss of from 6 to 75 per cent, and therefore as I can hardly suppose the district is so lightly assessed, as to enable them to bear a heavy percentage, I think it but fair to conclude that the Ryots have disposed of their produce for Cowries, in the Manner I have supposed."

13th. Mr. Egerton's enquiries, were answered by Mr. Trower in his letter dated the 1st December 1812 which has been already cited, "when that letter was written" Mr. Trower observes in his address to the Board of Revenue bearing date the 23rd of May last, 'I had been but a very short time in the Province, but the experience of five years, has served to confirm in my mind the sentiments therein expressed'--a declaration which gives much additional weight to the evidence contained in that letter.

"In the year 1216 Umlee, a Petition was presented to Mr. Fauquier, at that time Collector of this District, by the Proprietor of a large Estate, praying that he might be allowed to pay in his Revenue in Cowries, and the Commissioner was inclined to indulge him in his request. Mr. Fauquier however was convinced that the object of the Petitioner was only to create delays in the payment of the Government dues and proved to the satisfaction of the commissioner, that the Petitioner had not sufficient Cowries to pay up one fourth of the balance (which amounted to 11,000 Rupees), and that he could not have purchased them at any price in the Market.

"The rate of Exchange of Cowries for the years 1214-15 and 16 Umlee, was as follows :—

	Ks.	Ps.	Gs
12 4.....	5	14	10
1215.....	4	0	10
1216.....	4	6	0 and

Mr. Fauquier in a letter addressed to the Commissioner states "that the quantity of specie brought into the District in the year 1214, and two years antecedent, had diminished its value"—That might have accounted for "Cowries keeping their price as long as they were received in payment for Revenue, but as soon as it was known that after a certain period, they would not be received in

payment, at the Collector's Treasury, the Rupee became from that moment of greater value, than it had ever before been, and the Cowries fell in proportion; but as there still remained a certain period, for the receipt of Cowries at the Treasury and as an idea prevailed, that perhaps even when that period had elapsed, a longer time might be granted, the shroffs immediately took advantage of the fall in the value of the Cowries, and purchased them up at the rate of 5 and 6 Cawons the rupee, and buried them in their Houses, thinking to make largely by their purchase they were however disappointed in their expectation, and many of them failed, and were obliged to quit the District, and their hoards of Cowries were thrown open to the Market. Thus affording a second cause for their depreciation, by the renegece of quantities exposed for sale; and this probably, is the only time, that Cowries could have been purchased in any very large quantity".

"The rates of Exchange for the last 3 years, have been nearly as follows :—

	Ks.	Ps.	Gs.
1217.....	5	0	0
1218.....	5	12	0
1219.....	6	8	0 and

even 7 Cawons; yet not withstanding this fall, I do not believe from the information I have, that were Government to direct me to purchase a Lac of Rupees of Cowries, I could with all my endeavours obtain any thing near the quantity; and I am very certain that were the Zemindars allowed to pay their Revenue in Cowries, that they could not do it, and I am given to understand, that it was never formerly the case. That in the time of the Marhattas, though the Accounts were kept in Cowries, that the Revenue was paid in Rupees—though no doubt at that time, there was a much greater demand for Cowries, as the Marhatta Troops were paid in that Currency".

"I believe we shall come nearest to the truth by stating the following Circumstances. The Circulation of the Cowries is confined to the Mofussil, and there to the lowest orders of the people, but that all accounts are kept in Cowries, and in Rupees; Zemindars in this District, are generally poor and needs, yet inclined to be extravagant, and when their Kists fall due, they are under the necessity of applying to the Shroffs for advances, this advance is readily granted, provided the Shroffs are allowed to make their own terms, which are exorbitant; for instance, in advancing ten Rupees to a Zemindar, they will enter him in their Books Debtor for 70 Cawons of Cowries, but they will only receive back the Rupee at the Government rate of Exchange Ks. 4. Ps. 2. The Zemindars to enable them to bear this loss, are obliged to pursue a similar line of conduct with their under tenants, and the consequence is, the frequent desertions from the district that take place, from people being ruined. Thus it may in fact be said that the cause of the depreciation in the value of Cowries, arises from the arbitrary demands of the Shroffs from the Zemindars, who are obliged to force their under-tenants to pay them the Cowries at the same rate for the Rupee, which they pay the Shroffs; and there appears to me no other method of affording relief to this distressed Class of people, than the endeavouring to supercede

altogether the currency of Cowries, by the introduction of copper pice, which might be easily I conceive effected by the following means "

" It is requisite that out of the Sums disbursed for the expenses of the Temple, 1,000 Rupees should be paid in Cowries ; at present the whole amount is paid to the Purchase in Sicca Rupees, and they provide Cowries purchasing them at the rate of 7 Cowries, and disbursing them to the Servants of the Temple at the rate of Rs. 4, Ps. 2. the Rupee, by which they gain greatly".

" I would propose that in lieu of advancing the whole sum in Sicca Rupees, the Collector for two or three years, should be furnished from Calcutta with Copper pice, to the amount of 12,000 Rupees which he should send into the Mofussil to purchase Cowries for the use of the Temple ; Government fixing the exchange between the pice and Cowries, at what they might consider just and equitable; the lower Classes who had Cowries, would then be able to dispose of them at a fair price, and the Copper pice would be receivable by the Zemindars from them in payment of Revenue."

"The Disbursements also for the repairs of the Bunds in this District, might be made in Copper pice ; and I believe it will be generally allowed that the assistance thus afforded to the lower Classes, will be very considerable. The Cowries imported into the District in the Course of the Year, do not amount to more than 12,000 Rupees worth, and of these two thirds find their way out again, and probably more than that proportion".

"I am aware that the explanation I have endeavoured to afford is greatly defective, but I believe the conclusion I have drawn that the depreciation in Cowries is occasioned by the Shroffs and Monied men, will be found strictly true, as well as the assertion that Cowries are not to be procured in any large quantities, and that the Zemindars could not (were they allowed) pay their Revenue in that Currency".

14th. It is not my object in this place to offer remarks on the foregoing Statement but to show that measures were adopted by Government to obviate the inconvenience complained of. The remedy suggested by Mr Trower, was immediately adopted —The Mint Master at the Presidency was directed to remit the Sum of Thirty Thousand Sicca Rupees in Pice to Cuttack, to enable the Collector to disburse them in the purchase of Cowries for the use of the Temple, as well as in the payment of such other demands upon his Treasury as might appear to him to be most advantageous for the public service.

15th. Mr. Egerton at the same time requested the Collector of Cuttack to report to him the effect which this remittance might have in attaining the object proposed, in order that further remittances of pice might be made should it appear to be advisable.

16th. Mr. Trower in reply furnished a price Current of Cowries in the District for the month of May 1813 and proposed to furnish a Similar Statement monthly, to enable the Accountant General to judge of the effect produced by the Circulation of the Copper Coin. He noticed at the same time that the value of Cowries, had greatly increased of late.

17th. These monthly Statements were continued for 10 months and the following is an abstract of them :—

Average Abstract Price Current Of Cowries In The District Of Cuttack.

18th. It is observable from the foregoing abstract, that Cowries had risen in value in February 1814 in every part of the District. Since the month of July preceding, and at that time eight lacs only of the Pice which had been remitted to Cuttack, had been disbursed by the Collector.

19th. After the month of February, 1814 the transmission of these Price Currents was discontinued, and no further complaint of the State of the Cowrie Currency in Cuttack having reached this Office since that date upto the receipt of your present letter, it appears to have been taken for granted that the cause of complaint had been removed.

20th. Early in the year 1814/15 however, Mr. Trower was obliged by the State of his health to leave Cuttack, and it may perhaps have been owing to that cause that no further discussion of the Subject took place.

21th. From all the foregoing Statements it may be inferred I conceive.

1stly —That during five years after Cuttack became subject to the British Government, no cause of discontent is to be found in the State of the Cowrie Currency of that District.

2ndly —That the earliest complaint which was brought to the notice of Government on the part of the inhabitants of Cuttack, of inconvenience arising from the State of the currency, occurred in September 1810 was confined to the effect of an order prohibiting the receipt of Rupees of sorts, in payment of Revenue, and was immediately and effectually redressed on the part of Government, by the annulling of that order.

3rdly.—That as early as practicable after the Collector of Cuttack had brought to the notice of Government the evil alleged to have been experienced from the depreciation of Cowries in that District, and explained that nature of it, the only remedy which in that Officer's opinion would afford relief, was adopted by Government, and no further complaints having been reported there was reason to conclude that the remedy had succeeded.

22th. I now return to the immediate object of your present reference, namely how far in my opinion any real inconvenience has resulted to the inhabitants of Cuttack, from the alleged cause which it may be in the power of Government to remedy.

23rd. The alleged cause, implies I conceive the existence either of a scarcity of Silver, or of a super abundance of Cowries in Cuttack. Or both these causes may have operated partially to disturb that relation of value between silver, and cowries in Cuttack which as we have seen prevailed uninterruptedly during the first five years of our administration. If no just cause of complaint can be found in the state of the currency of Cuttack, it may be asked, how has it happened that discontent has been ascribed to that cause ?

24th. To these inquiries I regret to say that I have little means of affording any thing like a satisfactory answer. A Nerick of prices throughout Cuttack in both Cowries and Rupees, for a series of years, would have been a useful guide towards ascertaining the relative prevalence of Rupees, or Cowries in the District. But as the Collector who appears to have bestowed much pains in considering this subject, has seldom adverted to the price at which the produce of the soil has sold, it is hardly probable that he could now furnish such a document.

25th. When Mr. Mitford brought forward the complaint respecting Rupees of sorts in September, 1810 referred to in the former part of this letter, he observed, "As from the first annexation of this Province, to the Company's Dominions, many Lacs of Rupees of sorts have been dispatched for coinage, it may be reasonably inferred that a decrease has taken place, this does not seem to be the case for the exportation of Grain, and of Merchandize to the Madras Territory, holding also in recollection that the Countries adjoining prevent in a great measure such a circumstance occurring, the return being made in Rupees of sorts, it is therefore evident that the importation will continue in equal force as long as the merchant finds a ready market for them in the Landholder, who in turn tenders them in payment to Government preferring that which is easily acquired to the more troublesome search for the Sicca Rupee".

26th. In reporting on Mr. Mitford's letter, Mr. Egerton showed that from November 1804 to December 1810 or during a period of six years, the collections in Cuttack amounted on an average in Calcutta Sicca Rupees to 8,50,000 per annum, and in arcots and other Rupees of sorts to about 4,10,000 Rupees per annum. "As the Arcot Rupees" he observed, "were receivable in payment of the Revenue on very favourable terms, and the Landholders were not obliged to pay their Revenues in Calcutta Rupees, it is evident that although there is a considerable Trade carried on between Cuttack and the Southern Districts, the Commercial dealings with Calcutta and the Bengal Provinces, must be much more extensive, or so large a portion of the Revenues would not have been paid in Sicca Rupees." "I do not recollect" Mr. Egerton added, "that it has ever been necessary for Government to send Calcutta Sicca Rupees to Cuttack, but considerable Sums in that currency have been remitted from that District to the Presidency ; never the less the collections still continue to be made in a much greater proportion in Sicca Rupees, than in Rupees of sorts ; no complaints have ever been made of the Troops not being punctually paid in Sicca Currency ; and in

show that there has been at all times I believe, a sufficiency of that currency to answer every demand of a public nature upon that Treasury."

27th. It has appeared that Mr. Trower, in his letter of the 1st December 1812 cites the authority of his predecessor Mr. Panquier, "that the quantity of specie brought into the District in the year 1214 (1807) and two years antecedent, had diminished it's value".

28th. Mr. Richardson the late Commissioner of Cuttack, whose course of public service had given him much experience in matters of currency, in a report on the affairs of that Province dated the 20th of December 1814 observes, "I am led to think that the circulating Capital in this Province, does not exceed the sum of 20 lacs or 2,50,000. —English money; of this, I reckon 1/40 to be Gold; 24/40 Silver; 4/40 Copper, and 11/40 Cowries; in other words, the amount in Gold, half a Lac; Silver 12 Lacs; and Copper 2 lacs; Cowries 5 and a half Lacs", again "The influx of silver into this Province must be very considerable, though it would be difficult to say exactly to what extent". Alluding to Pilgrims, Mr. Richardson added, "If for the sake of argument we allow annually 1,00,000. Individuals, exclusive of the many persons resorting thither, either privileged by poverty, or permission, if each of these be supposed to exchange during his stay 5 Rupees, the quantity of silver imported, will amount to above 5 Lac; and if we likewise take into the account the exchange for Rice exported, said to be about three Lacs, it will appear that above one half of the whole Revenue is annually brought into this Province through various channels, to replenish the loss which the circulating Capital sustains".

29th. In order to bring this inquiry respecting the silver currency of Cuttack down to the latest period, I have carried on Ms. Egerton's statement to the 30th of April last embracing a period of twelve years. This documents a copy of which I have the honour to annex for the information of Government will be found completely to establish the prevalence of Sicca Rupees, over Rupees of sorts in that District. During the six years ending in December 1810 the annual average of the collection in Cuttack, was in sicca Rupees 8,60,000—in Rupees of sort 4,10,000. During the Twelve years ending on the 30th of April last, the average collection in Sicca Rupees has been 10,44,345—in Rupees of sorts only 2,47,326.

30th. If the District X X X of Cuttack can bear its present rate of assessment, it must possess means I presume of disposing of it's produce, independently of the Government expenditure; I can not therefore regard the annual remittances of surplus Revenue from Cuttack, in aid of the general service of Government, as a consideration belonging to the present question.

31st. In connection with this mention of resources of Cuttack, it may however be remarked that besides the unhappy disturbances which have lately occurred in that District itself, the very unsettled state for sometime past of the Country immediately to

the Southward, which formerly afforded a Market for the produce of Cuttack, may have affected it's resources considerably.

32nd. Nevertheless, upon the whole, I can find no proof of any particular scarcity of silver in the District of Cuttack; It is true the Collector in his latest letter observes, "that silver is so scarce, that it is only to be purchased at an advance of from 70 to 80 per cent, on the value originally affixed to the Cowrie Currency by Government" but then he immediately proceeds to shew that, "the cowrie business is principally an affair of accounts on Paper, or of Dr. & Cr. between the money lender and the Ryutts". It is else-where stated also, that the Shroffs *readily* make advances, provided they are allowed to make their own terms, which implies a monopoly, not a scarcity of silver.

33rd. I submit on the other hand, whether besides the positive fact of collections in silver for a series of years, averaging upon of 12 lacs per annum, much local evident in opposition to Mr. Trower's remark has not been adduced, in presumption at least of there being no scarcity of Silver currency in Cuttack.

34th. With regard to the superabundance of cowries in Cuttack, it has appeared from Mr. Trower's letter of the 1st of December 1812 that in his opinion 'the cowries imported into the District, in a course of the year, do not amount to more than 12 000 Rupees worth; and of these two thirds, find their way out again and probably more than that proportion".

"The quantity of these shells in circulation," Mr. Richardson observes, in his report already cited, bearing date December 1814 or two years after, "I have supposed to be 5½ lacs of Rupees, and I am not inclined to suppose them fewer an annual importation made from the Maldives and other Places, and exchanged for grain, amounting to the value of about 10,000 Rupees, replaces those which are wasted or destroyed".

35th. In the extract of the report of the 4th Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit in deed, which you transmitted for my information, I find it asserted that "the epression of the price of Cowries, by which the Zemindars suffer, has been chiefly occasioned by the excess of Cowries imported into the Province to pay the labourers employd on the new Road to Juggernaut"—and I understand the Magistrate of Cuttack also mean, that there has been a real excess of Cowries, occasioning their depreciation, when he observes, "It must be allowed however, that the depreciation in the value of cowries, has caused the produce of the soil, to enhance in price, so that the Cultivator does not in reality suffer so severely as on the first view of the case he appears to do; but this is not comprehensible to him, his ideas being alone confined to the difference between 4 Cawons and 6 or 7 cawons of cowries."

36th. Respectable as these authorities undoubtedly are, it may be remarked that they rather touch upon this subject, than undertake to examine it, and that if they had completely established the point of a real depreciation of cowries, arising from abundance, they would at the same time have established the truth of the Magistrate's assertion, 'that the cultivator does not in reality suffer so severely as on the first view of the case he appears to do'—for the certain consequence of such a depreciation, would be a rise in the Cowrie price of the produce of the soil.

37th. The evidence however of the Collectors, Mr. Waring, and Mr. Trower, on this subject, seems entitled to most consideration, and the general tenor of the whole of it appears to me to proceed on the belief that the Ryot finds no compensation, for the alleged depreciation of cowries, in the greater number of them which he can obtain, in exchange for the produce of his land.

38th. It is true one remarkable exception to this observation, occurs in Mr. Trower's latest letter on this subject, dated the 23rd of May last.

39th. From the following Extract it would appear that except under calamity of season, scarcity of Rupees, or any other accident, or rather if the season be favorable, and he can keep his grain till a good Market is afforded, a Ryot who engages to rent 8 Beegahs of land, assessed on the whole at 162 Kawons of Cowries, which are converted into Rupees, at the rate of 4 Kawons per Rupee, making a sum of sicca Rupees 40-8-0 for which he signs a Qubooleat, may sell his produce, and even make some profit or terms, which shall enable him to fulfil his engagement, by purchasing Rupees for that purpose, at the rate of from 6 to 7 Kawons the Rupee.

"All Zemindaree accounts", Mr Trower states, "are in the first instance computed in Cowries, that being the circulating Medium in the Mofussil, and better understood by the Ryots, than rupees. A Ryot engages to rent from the Landholder eight Beegahs of land, producing various Crops, agreeably to the value of which the assessment is made and we will suppose the total assessment of the 8 Beegahs, to amount to 144 Kawons of cowries. To this is added an account Kuchas, 2 Puns per Khawon (and frequently a long list of other demands) making on the whole 162 Khawons, which are turned into Rupees at the Government rate of Exchange of 4 Khawons per Rupee, making Sicca Rupees 40-5-0 for which sum the Ryot signs a Qubooleat. As the Mofussil, and Bazar rate of Cowries, is from 6 to 7 Khawons the rupee, the Ryot to enable him to pay the sum for which he stands engaged, must sell the produce of his Land for 280 Khawons of Cowries instead of 162 the rate at which it was calculated in the first instance; and if the season is favorable, and he can keep his grain till a good market is offered, he is sometimes able to do this, and even make some profit besides. But if from calamity of season scarcity of Rupees, or any other accident, he is unable to pay his Revenue by the time required, he is obliged to have recourse to a Mahajun to advance him Money, who debts him in his Books at the rate of 7 Kawons

(more or less) for the Rupee; besides adding Interest, discount, price of Stamp Paper for a Bond, etc. all of which is to be paid from the next year's produce. If instead of going to a Mahajun, he goes to his Zemindar, and offers to pay his Revenue in Cowries, the Landholder will not receive them at the rate at which he originally assessed the Land, 162 Khawons but demands 7 Khawons the Rupee, as the Qaboolat was signed for Sicca Rupees, which he himself pays to Government. Thus the Ryot loses in the Exchange from 2 to 3 Khawons, becomes involved in Debt, and deserts the Estate; the consequence of which is, that the Zemindar is obliged to let out his lands to Pate Ryots (residing in other Estates) at a reduced merick, and in his turn becomes a sufferer from the Cowries Exchange",

40th. Never-the-less, referring to his letter of the 1st December 1812 Mr. Trower observes, "I stated, that were I desired to purchase a Lac of Rupees of Cowries at the Bazar price, I could not effect it, and I am still of the same opinion"—again "I am told that not a doubt is to be entertained, that in the event of Government receiving Cowries into the Treasury at 4 Khawons, or any rate it might be thought proper to fix, the Mofussil rate would in a very short time fall down to Ks. 3. Ps. 8 These remarks, surely imply, that there is no depreciation of Cowries arising from abundance.

41st. Under the circumstance of the depreciation of cowries in Cuttack, having been alledged to be one of the causes to which the discontent prevalent in that District, may be ascribed, I have felt it to be my duty to lay before Government all the evidence bearing directly on the Currency of Cuttack, which the records of my Office afford, from the enactment of Regulation XII, of 1805 down to the latest report received on this subject—I might otherwise have ventured at once to infer, from the strong presumption afforded by the fact of increasing collections in sicca Rupees, during the last twelve years and by the concurrent testimonies of Mr. Richardson and Mr. Trower, as to the trifling amount of the annual importation of Cowries into Cuttack, that the state of the currency of that District, must rather have improved, than have given any just cause of discontent to any Class of the Inhabitants.

42nd. The truth appears to be, that the existence of a cowrie currency, no longer receivable in payment of Revenue has been made the occasion of exaction and oppression, or as Mr. Trower himself justly expresses it, "Thus it may in fact be said, that the cause of the depreciation of the value of cowries, arises from the arbitrary demands of the Shroffs from the Zemindars, who are obliged to force their under-tenants to pay them the Cowries at the same rate for the Rupee, which they pay the Shroffs.'

43rd. To receive cowries generally again in payment of Revenue might have the effect of perpetuating that barbarous currency which on all hands it is agreed to be desirable to supersede. while to attempt to fix its value without acknowledging it to be a legal currency of the district, might appear to be an arbitrary and

inconsistent act. I would therefore propose that cowries be rendered by enactment, the legal currency of Cuttack, as a fractional part of a Rupee, and that they be fixed in value at the rate assumed in the general assessment of District. Viz.

4. Cawons of Cowries equal to 1. Calcutta Sicca Rupee.

1. Pun of Cowrie equal to 1. Copper Pice.

44th. The Collector of Cuttack, has a considerable stock of pice in hand. These, he should be instructed to disburse at his discretion so as to introduce them most effectually into circulation.

45th. Should the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council be pleased to approve of these suggestions, I would beg leave further to recommend that the Mint Master be directed to prepare with the least practicable delay a remittance of Pice to the extent of 50,000 Rupees worth, for the purpose of being disbursed in Cuttack, and that supplies of that currency may be continued to be furnished for the same purpose from time to time, until it should be as completely established in Cuttack, as in any other part of the Hon'ble Company's Territory.

46. It is hardly to be expected that a law fixing the value of Cowries in Cuttack, will go far in preventing the continuance of exaction and oppression in some shape or other. The acknowledged existence of these evils will still remain I fear, to exercise the vigilance of the local authorities, under the general administration; But the proposed law, may prevent the Currency of Cowries, being in future perverted, as of late, into one of the readiest means of committing enormous exaction.

I have the honor to be

Fort William,
The 23th July 1817

Sd/ I. W. THERER
Accountant General

COLLECTIONS OF LAND REVENUE IN THE DISTRICT OF CUTTACK.

	Collections in Rupees of sorts.	Value in Calcutta Sicca Rupees.	Collections in Calcutta Sicca Rupees.	Total Collec- tion in Cal- cutta Sicca Rupees.
From November, 1804/5.	2,43,541	2,26 550	5,38,004	7,64,554
1805/6	70,241	63,340	12,27,260	12,92,600
1806/7	5,07,836	4,72,370	5,52,537	10,24,907
1807/8	7,62,215	7,09,037	4,98,598	12,07,935
1808/9	4,42,200	4,11,228	8,90,393	13,01,621
1809/10	2,80,699	2,61,115	8,29,172	10,90,287
1810/11	2,65,342	2,46,830	10,74,950	13,21,788
1811/12	1,47,671	1,37,037	13,32,831	14,69,868
1812/13	1,59,213	1,47,273	11,45,665	12,92,933
1813/14	1,60,384	1,49,104	11,42,132	12,91,236
1814/15	1,30,634	1,30,182	13,62,569	14,92,751
1815/16	2,13,037	1,97,463	12,64,799	14,62,262
1816/17	44,158	40,932	12,10,929	12,51,861
Total ...	31,94,230	29,67,911	1,25,32,143	1,55,00,054
Average of 12—	2,66,186	2,47,326	10,44,345	12,91,671

E. E.
Sd/ I. W. Therer

ACCOUNTANT GENERAL.

To

T. Plowden, Esqr.,
Acting Secretary to the Board of Trade,
Salt. Department, Fortwilliam.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 24th Ultimo, and enclosed therein, a copy of a letter from Mr. Secretary Bayley to the Magistrate of Cuttack, requiring me to report on such points alluded to in the Enclosure as appertain to the salt Department.

2. The question alluding to the Salt Department is as follows :
"The enhanced price of salt and the difficulty of obtaining it even at an advanced price."

3. The extension of the salt monopoly to the Southern Division of Cuttack, has been like new taxation in all parts of the World, naturally a source of temporary complaint, and its effect upon the Public mind is too recently impressed, not to form a prominent feature in the many grievances which are supposed to have given birth to the prevailing Insurrection in Khoordah and its vicinity ; but it affords me much satisfaction to assure the Board, backed by Official Documents in demonstration, that the sales of Government salt have been sufficiently extensive to afford ample provision for the inhabitants of Cuttack and the neighbouring states and that they have gradually increased annually.

4. The quantity of salt sold in the Province for the three last years, amounts, upon an average, to maunds 151,033, which upon a calculation of the daily consumption of each individual at 1/2* a cuttack, provides for 5,37,013 souls per annum.

*Corresponding with the calculation just made by the Captn. Roberts now at Cuttack in the Commissariat Deptt. on the subject of local consumption.

5. The average retail price of salt in the District, formed from the Chokey weekly reports in the office, amounts to Rupees 3-4-0 per mound, and supposing 1/2 a Chhattack to be the daily consumption of each Individual, which is very liberal, his proportion per annum stands him in annas 14 and 7 pie:—this is utmost Individual expence for salt even at the present price of the article thus it must appear very improbable, that a whole Country should assemble arms against the state or that the present Insurrection should be attributed to the price of salt, or the difficulty of obtaining it.

6. The real grievance existing in Cuttack with respect to the Salt, and the cause of it's becoming an object of complaint is, that previous to the extension of the monopoly, all the Head men of Villages (Mokuddums) which are productive of salt, enjoyed an enormous profit upon the manufacture under the following arrangement with their mulunghees. It was usual to assess all such Lands at

the rate of half their product in salt, and the mokuddums were in the habit of collecting Revenue in salt, and of bartering Grain with their molunghees for the remaining half of their annual manufacture, thus monopolizing individually the Trade in the article as far as their farms of one or more villages extended, they sold their salt to all the Neighbouring merchants at a considerable advance upon it's original cost, and after paying the amount of Revenue to the Zemindar, the profit to mokuddums was still great, and the loss of it, by the recent extension of the monopoly, is not likely to escape their attention in the present opportunity of stating grievances, and as they are only interested in seeing things return to their former system by a relinquishment of the Hon'ble Company's monopoly under an investigation of their grievances they will naturally suit complaints to that object, and urge the hardship of being obliged to pay now so high a price for the article, which was so cheap before without advertising to the scrutiny, their complaints, and the object in making them, will meet with.

7. The annual average number of Rowannahs issued to merchants to cover my sales of salt at the office for the last three years, is 1203, all to cover sales in District Lats, the sales are open from 10 O'clock in the morning till six in the evening daily, and are most assuredly free to all merchants who wish to become purchasers of quantities from 20 maunds to any extent, and it clearly is any interest to extend my sales as much as possible; as by the favour of Government I am allowed to derive a commission upon the amount sold annually. I never have heard the slightest complaint of any difficulty in obtaining salt from the Office, or do I believe any such complaint does really exist to the prejudice of the Trade in any part of the Province, or that the introduction of the public monopoly, further than the loss of it's advantages to those who before enjoyed them.

8. In Bengal the price of Salt is nearly, if not quite, double what it is in this District, if therefore the price of the article in this Province is to be considered a source of grievance, it can only be by comparison with times antecedent to the extension of the Hon'ble Company's monopoly.

9. The average price of salt of the Hon'ble Company's public sales in Calcutta for the sake of example, we will suppose to be 350 Rupees per 100 Maunds—this Salt sold in retail, after passing through the several degrees of Traders, I know from experience never falls short of Rupees 5 per maund, and more commonly sells for 6 Rupees at a distance from the Presidency which is within 4 annas per maund of being double the price of the Cuttack Trade.

*In 1814-
mds 1,10,
957 23.12.
1815-mds.
1,82,914 12.0
1816-mds.
1,59,233.32.8

10. *My sales in 1816 have fallen short of the year preceeding, which accounts for the scarcity now in the market, but this is to be attributed to the frequent alarm which has prevailed in the District during that period of the approach of Pindarees, and that alarm has this effect upon the Trade no doubt can be entertained, since the sales at my office have now entirely ceased, in consequence of the prevailing insurrection in Khoordah, and not a grain has been sold since the 8th of April last.

11. The quantity of salt in the market (see my letter of the 1st instant) is not at the present moment more than sufficient for consumption of the District for 18 days, and as this scarcity is to be accounted for by a stagnation of the public sales for so short a period as one month, the poverty of the Trade generally is demonstrated beyond a doubt, and if any difficulty does exist in obtaining salt, it must originate in the confined scale of the market individually, the merchants who trade in salt are mostly Oorials, whose means will only allow them to purchase in small quantities, and generally speaking, in single Lots, they are none of them men of property, and before they embark in a second speculation, they are obliged to settle their accounts with their Creditors thus it is, that the market continues precarious in its supplies and subject to distress, if in the event of alarm, or from any other cause, the public sales should be interrupted.

12. The price paid for salt at my office to the whole sale dealer, is per maund 2 Rupees the expense of conveying his salt mostly by land carriage, is considerable, and when the usurious rate of Interest, wastage, risk, and various indispensable charges are brought into calculation, it does not appear to be exorbitant that he should charge 30 per cent upon his Trade, including all his expenses; this is the rate,* upon an average, at which I understand the whole sale dealer disposes of his Rowannah salt to pherriahs or Retailers, always upon credit, and consequently at a great risk—Retailers receive their supplies from the wholesale merchant in small quantities, and expose it for sale in all neighbouring Hauts and Bazars. The quantity usually entrusted upon credit to Pherriahs is from 5 to 10 maunds, and the expense to them of storing the salt, and conveying it about from market to market, together with the waste, is great, yet their sales average only 20 per cent upon prime cost; which leaves them clear profit of about half.

*Rs. 2.10.0

13. What I have above stated, alludes to the District at large, or such portion of it as embraces the salt Trade at places distantly situated from the manufacturing Aurungs, and has little or nothing to do with Khoordah, the present immediate object of Report.

14. In the Khoordah Estate, the salt sales are confined as scarcely to deserve notice, the quantity sold for the consumption of Khoordah from my office since the extension of the monopoly, amounts to maunds 3,876, almost the whole of Khoordah is supplied as all other Pergunahs are so situated with smuggled salt from the Bhoosondpore pangah salt Aurung, which is centrally positioned in that Estate, and also from Chilka Lake, which borders thereon this evil is well known to prevail in every agency, and all the vigilance in the World will not prevent it, it is not to be credited therefore that the present disturbed state of Khoordah can have originated in a scarcity of salt, a difficulty of obtaining the excessive price of it, or in any grievance applicable to the Monopoly, further as I have before stated than the loss experienced by the Head men of Villages who formerly reaped its advantages and Zamindars who partook of the same trade—the price of salt in Khoordah before the introduction of the Monopoly, was of course much more moderate than it now is, and did not exceed 14 annas per maund, for I purchased it in Khoordah for my own consumption when there at that rate.

15. I have been thus explicit in my Report upon the grievances supposed by Government to originate in the high price of salt, and the difficulty of obtaining it in the provincial markets in the hope of establishing, to the satisfaction of Government, and the Board, the improbability of their existence to any alarming extent, and that the following points quoted from Official Records, will be received in proof, that the Monopoly has not been comparatively oppressive to the Inhabitants of this Province, and further that stated grievances can only originate in a desire to turn the trade into the hands of those, who before enjoyed its sweets.

First. That the market price of salt in Oorishah is very little, more than half the price of the article in Bengal.

2dly. That the annual Public sales of salt in Cuttack, are equal to the consumption of up-wards of 5,37,000 souls.

3dly. That the salt consumed by each Individual, does not stand him in more than annas 14 and 7 pies per annum at the average price of salt in the District.

4thly. That the sale of salt, at the Cuttack salt Offices, is free and open, daily and all day to any and all persons wishing to become purchasers at the Government price, or per maund 2 rupees.

5thly. That the number of Lots sold at the Cuttack salt office in the last three years, amounts to 3,610, each lot distinctly covered by a Rowannh, and destined to any market in the Province at the pleasure of the merchants.

6thly. That it is the Interest of the salt Agent to extend his public sale of salt to the utmost, and that these sales have annually encreased, the following statement clearly proves.

QUANTITY OF SALT SOLD

In	1811	...	...	...	Mds.	1,06,326,39.8
	1812	...	...	...	do	1,23,867,23.8.
	1813	...	...	...	do	1,29,447,20.8.
	1814	...	...	...	do	1,10,957,23,12.
	1815	...	...	...	do	1,82,914,12.0.
	1816*	...	...	...	do	1,59,233,32.8.

See para 10

16. In submitting this present Report to the Board, I have strictly confined my observation relative to the prevailing Insurrection to my own Department, and I most anxiously hope that the minute explanation I have given of the grievances stated to exist to the prejudice of the Agency and derogatory to the primary constitution of the monopoly may prove satisfactory.

Cuttack,
Salt Office,
The 8th May, 1817.

I have
Sd/ C. BECHER.
SALT AGENT,

(A TRUE COPY)

SECRETARY'S REPORT REGARDING CUTTACK

In the beginning of the month of April last, Government received intelligence from the Magistrate of Cuttack, that a body of 400 men denominated Kund or Chooars inhabitants of Goomsur in Ganjam had entered the Pergunnah of Khoorda in the District of Cuttack, in here they had been joined by Jugbundoo Roy and a large body of people under his influence;* that they had burned the Police Thannah plundered the Treasury of the Tehsildar, and committed other acts of outrage in that Pergunnah.

Although the information furnished by the Magistrate of Cuttack, was not such as to establish any direct participation on the part of the Rajah* of Khoorda in the violent proceeding of the insurgents, it was calculated to excite a strong suspicion, that the Rajah was indirectly concerned in fomenting the existing disturbances, and it appeared to Government to be under any circumstances in-expedient to permit him to remain at Jugunauth, where his presence was likely to facilitate the objects of the Insurgents, and to encourage a disposition to oppose the authority of Government, and the Magistrate was accordingly authorized to remove the Rajah from Jugunauth, and if necessary to send him under a safe escort to Calcutta. Circumstances connected with the course of military operations prevented the execution of this measure until the 11th May last, when the Rajah was removed to Cuttack, where he still remains in consequence of the state of the roads in the season of the periodical rains, and the difficulty of sparing troops to Escort him to Calcutta.

In the mean time the little success with which the operations of the Military detachments in Khoordah have been attended, and their subsequent retreat from that Pergunnah having augmented the confidence of the insurgents and diffused more widely the spirit of disaffection, Government deemed it necessary to vest the Magistrate with a discretionary authority to proclaim Martial Law* in Khoorda, and in any other parts of Cuttack in which that measure might be necessary for the restoration of tranquillity, and to offer rewards for the apprehension of the Ringleaders.

In the mean time measures had been adopted by the Commander-in-Chief for reinforcing the troops in Cuttack, and with reference to the progress of the insurrection and to other circumstances, it was deemed expedient to place the troops in Cuttack under the separate command of an officer of high rank, to whom the delicate trust of administering Martial Law might be likewise confided. Major General Sir G. Martindell having

*The extensive influence possessed by Jugbundoo Roy in the Pergunnah Khoorda was from the nature of the office which he held during Marahatta Government of Commander of the Paiks or Native Militia of the Raja of Koordah.

× The personal resistance opposed by the Raja of Khoorda and his adherents to troops after the conquest of Cuttack, late to the seizure of his person and his confinement at Midnapore. He was released in the year 1807 and restored to his office of Superintendent of the temple of Jugunauth where he has since resided, but he enters into engagements for his Estate of Khoorda,

Under these instructions martial Law was proclaimed in Khoorda on the 14th April last, & subsequently in Pipley, Limbaee, Jugunnauth & Khoatdes on the 19th of April.

accordingly been nominated to this command under the title of Commissioner proceeded to Cuttack, at which place he arrived on the 6th of May.

On the 15th that month he quitted Cuttack and entered Khoordah, where he has since directed the movements and operations of the troops, and has adopted other measures with the view of apprehending the Kingleaders of the disturbance and of restoring tranquillity

After this short review of the principal measures adopted for suppressing the late disturbances, it will be convenient to notice generally the local limits within which the disturbances have principally prevailed, as well as those to which they have from time to time partially extended themselves.

With this view I have carefully extended the several dispatches received from the Magistrate, and have referred to such Maps as I could procure.

It is to be regretted however, that a large tract of country to the South of the Mahonuddee has not been surveyed, and that the Chief scene of the disorders appear in consequence nearly a blank in the Map. It has been already noticed, that the insurrection commenced in Khoorda, an extensive Purgunnah thinly inhabited, and abounding with thick Jungles, and uncultivated wastes.

To the South and West, it is situated near the boundary of the district of Ganjam, and in the *vicinity* of that extensive tract of Country in Ganjam, denominated Goomsur, which for some time past has been in a state of open resistance to the local authority in the Ganjam District.

The report furnished to this Government by the Collector of Ganjam on the state of Goomsur, exhibits many features of resemblance in the character of the disturbances respectively prevailing in Goomsur and in Khoorda.

The families of the two Rajahs (as well as of Jugbundoo and of the principal servant of the Rajah of Goomsur) are allied by marriage and the two Rajahs have both been deprived of the management of their respective Estates for contumacy or other misconduct.

Their principal native Officers, including the Establishments of Paiks or Native local Militia, are the persons actively engaged in resisting the Government. The fort Commanders of this class of people are respectively the leaders of the rebellion on both Pergannahs, and there are sufficient grounds to infer that the leading object of these people was the restoration of the hereditary proprietors of the Estates to their former power and influence. The disorders which so long prevailed in the Pergunnahs of Bogree and Rypore in Midnapore as well as those now prevailing in Kemmedy

and Mahurry in the District of Ganjam, exhibit precisely the same features, and whatever injuries, real or supposed, may have contributed to excite or to extend the disturbances in question, the leading object and chief cause of them appear to have been nearly the same in all. In all of them too, the nature of the Country and the terror inspired by the outrages of the Paiks have proved the principal obstacles to the reestablishment of tranquillity

The disturbances in Cuttaek did not extend beyond the limits of Khoorda, until after the × of the several detachments which had first proceeded into it. The entire failure of the first measures, adopted with a view to coercion, naturally emboldened the insurgents, and they were in consequence enabled to extend their outrages to other Estates, and to excite and encourage the dissatisfied or ill-disposed inhabitants of those Estates in the prosecution of a similar course of proceeding.

It accordingly appears from the Magistrate's letter of the 7th, 10th and 15th of April last that various outrages were soon afterwards committed in Limboe[×], Piply[°] and Khoordas† either by parties of the insurgents for Khoorda or by the Paiks belonging to the several Estates and places above specified.

During the start period in which the Khoorda insurgents retained possession of Jugernaut, they do not appear to have been joined by the Inhabitants*, and thus retreat from that place in consequence of the arrival of a detachment under Captain Le Fevre was followed by the immediate restoration of tranquillity in that quarter.

The following Extracts from letters addressed to Government by Mr. Impey, the Magistrate under dates the 5th and 11th May last, regarding the general state of affairs in the district at that period, correspond with the tenor of the foregoing remarks,

5th May. "I have the honour to report for the information of His Lordship in Council, that since my Letter of the 29th Ultimo, I have been enabled most satisfactorily to ascertain, that the whole of this District to the Northward of the Mahanuddy is in a state of perfect tranquillity, and the Inhabitants are ploughing the Land and otherwise employed in their peaceful avocations,

The ill disposed persons, who were emboldened by the retreat from Poory to commit outrages and to evince a disregard of the Civil Power have dispersed. Some have been apprehended and the Police is actively employed in apprehending all person implicated, Messures have also been adopted for reinstating the Zumeendars who were dispossessed by the former Proprietors, and for seizing the persons of the Khundittees concerned in these violent proceedings."

"The Rajah of Coojing is on his way to the Station, and will arrive in the course of a day or two when a particular investigation into his conduct will take place."

× This Estate held Khas.
 ° The property by purchase of the son of the Collector's Dewan.
 † This Estate held Khas.
 * The zemindars of Jugernaut or Pursotom chutr has been purchased by a person named Kishen Chander king.

"Khoorda alone is the part of the District where the authority of Government is totally annulled."

11th May. 'Nothing further has transpired attaching suspicion to the Rajah of Ranpoore, and every intelligence obtained by me tends to confirm my opinion, that none of the Ghur Jhaut Rajahs have afforded assistance to Jugbundoo and the Rebels'.

"I have pleasure in reporting that the peace of the District has not undergone any interruption since my last address, and that the Police is again resuming its accustomed efficacy throughout the late disturbed parts of the district the Territory of Khoordah alone excepted."

The intrigues of Jugbundoo to excite disaffection and rebellion in the tributary Mehauls appear to have entirely failed. The Rajah of Ranpoore is only person of that class whose conduct has appeared to be equivocal, and there is no proof of his having actually assisted the rebels in Khoorda, or of his having resolved on resisting the authority of Government.

Since the 15th of May last, disposable force in Cuttack has been employed in Khoordah in destroying the stockades, fortified passes and villages, in dispersing the insurgents wherever they were assembled in any considerable parties, in opening roads through the Jungles, and in making arrangements for the shelter of such part of the troops as it was proposed to station within the Purgunnah of Khoordah during the rains.

These and other measures adopted by Major General Martin dell, coupled with the protection afforded by the troops, have induced many of the inhabitants of Khoordah who had quitted their villages to return to their former habitations and pursuits.

A considerable number of the Paeks have been killed, and others have voluntarily returned to their allegiance. Those who are still in arms have retired to remote parts in the Jungles, where it is impracticable to pursue them at this advanced period of the season but from which they sally forth when opportunities offer for the purpose of attacking the inhabitants of Villages who are inimical to them or who furnish assistance or information to the officers of Government.

Having thus briefly adverted to the past and present state of affairs in Khoordah, and the Estates or places in its vicinity in which Martial Law has been established, it remains to notice the outrages which have been committed in some other parts of the District of Cuttack.

The letter from the Magistrate of Cuttack of the 5th and 11th of May last, Extracts from which are inserted in a preceding part of this report, shew that at that period, the authority of Government was not openly and violently resisted in any part of the

District except the Pergunnah of Khoordah, that although the retreat of Captain Wallington from Pooree, had excited a spirit of outrage and commotion in Cojeing and its vicinity, and although the former proprietors of some Estates in that quarter had with the aid of Khundytes and Paeks despoised the new purchasers, yet that the Civil authority was regaining its influence, and that the restoration of tranquillity generally was progressive.

On the 29th 30th of May and the 30th of July last however the Magistrate reported, that soon after Major General Martindell had entered Khoordah, a body of armed Pykes belonging to that Pergunnah, had made an irruption into the Thannah of Ghope where they were joined by the Khundytes and Paeks of Coojung and its vicinity, and committed various outrages in that part of the Country. These disturbances gradually extended to the Thannahs or Turun, Huchulpore, Arsrashur, Pyrajpora and Patamoondy.

In most of these disturbances the Pickes of Coojung appear have taken a principal part.

They were aided however by the Khundytes and Pykes of many Estates in the Thannahs abovementioned. They plundered the Salt Chowkees attacked the Police Officers forcibly ejected the new purchasers of Estates, and reinstated the former proprietors in the possession of them.

The Magistrate strengthened these and other Police Thannahs by an additional number of Burkundosses, but the military operations then in progress in Khoordah, rendered it impracticable at that time to furnish Troops for the suppression of these disorders.

Detachments have been since ordered to Coojung and Ghope and their presence will probably prevent further Eccesses.

Whether the Rajah of Coojung has encouraged the Paeks of his Estate to commit these outrages appears at present doubtful. His intention to proceed to Cuttack, as reported in the Magistrate's letter of the 5th of May, was not carried into effect in consequence, as was then supposed by Magistrate, of the compulsory interference of the Chief Servants and Pickes on his Estate.

Coojung is not one of the Tributary Mehals, but the Rajah holds his Estate on a fixed annual quitrent in perpetuity.

In the various reports submitted by the Magistrate regarding these disturbances, the Khundytes and Paeks are alone mentioned as being actively concerned in the outrages, and it is probable that they have been instigated to commit acts of violence by the former proprietors of Estates, and that their chief object has been to restore those proprietors to their former possessions. The Magistrate has specifically noticed, that the new purchasers of the following Estates, many of which are very extensive, have been dispossessed.

Viz.	
Bulrampore, Boorakura and Talpudda were purchased by officers on the Establishment of the Zillah Court,	BULARAMPORE. ROOPASOO. BOORAKUR&A. TAL UDDA. MURRECHPORE. HURRISHPORE, & GOLRA.
Roopasoo was purchased by Ki-henmohun Choodhree.	
Murrechpore, Hurrishpore & Golra are Jungle Estates included in the special provisions of Section 35, Regulation 12, 1805.	

Unless the Khundytes and Paeks are actuated by Natives of this nature, it is not easy to assign any probable ground for their being the active Agents in the recent disturbances. By the provisions of Regulation 13, 1805, the possession of the lands assigned by the former Government for the maintenance of the Khundites and Pykes, was secured to them on the same terms as heretofore and special rules were enacted for rendering their services available in maintaining an efficient Police, and for preventing their being removed from their offices without sufficient cause.

The Magistrate has not stated that this class of people complain of having been deprived of their lands, or of having suffered from the exactions of the Zemeendars or Police Officers, except in Khoorda in which Pergunnah it is specifically asserted as well by the Magistrate as by Sir G. Martindell, that their lands have been brought on the public assessment at the same rates as those paid by the other cultivators of the soil.

The same course however may possible have been pursued in other parts of the District, and the subject is and which merits the early and serious attention of the local officers.

Of the places mentioned in the foregoing part of this report there are several which I have been enable to trace in any of the Maps to which I have had access. Amongst these which I cannot find, the following are the most important. Khootdes, Limbaee, Runpore, Kunka, Bulrampore, Boorakura, the Thannahs of Teerun and Paharjepoor.

The following remarks however will facilitate a reference to the Map, with regard to some of the Principal Places lying to the South of the Mahanudee. The Thannah of Piply is situated on the high road from Cuttack to Jugernat about midway between there places, the Thannahs of Teerun and Ghope, together with the extensive Estates of Khoatdes and Coojung embrace the greater part of the tract of Country lying between Juggunnaut and the

mouth of the Mahanuddee, and stretching and land to a distance of 20 or 30 miles from the Sea Coast and they include the Estates of Hurrishpoor, Murrechpore, Golra Roopasoo, Purroonhi and Talpudda. The Thannahs of Patomoondy, Asauresassurs, Pahrappoor, the Salt Stations of Runnooh, Bakood, and Astrang, the Estates of Hurryhurpoore and Bulrampore appear to be situated either to the northward of the Mahanuddy or in its immediate vicinity.

It has been already observed that the Paeks and Khuudytes have been the active perpetrators of the outrages that have taken place, and that the body of the people whatever may be the grievances of which they may have cause to complain do not appear to have been directly concerned in openly resisting the authority of Government, though they have probably in various instances forwarded the views of the Paeks by indirect means.

It is remarkable also, that with the exception of Coojung, and perhaps one or two other Estates, the Paeks and Khundytes who have been engaged in the disturbances belong to Estates which were no longer in the possession or under the management of the ancient Proprietors. For instance Khoorda, Khoatdes and Limbaee, were held Khas, and the Estates of Murrechpore, Hurrishpore, Golra, Balrampore, Boorakura and Roopasoo were all in the hands of new Purchasers.

The foregoing general remarks are submitted under the impression that they may perhaps be of use in considering the course which should be pursued with a view to the restoration of tranquillity.

The 10th August, 1817.

Sd/ W. B. Bayley,
Actg. Chief Secretary to Government.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

The 16th September, 1817.

(A True copy)

Sd/ W. Bayley,
A. C. S. to Government.

AN ORIYA INSCRIPTION FROM INDUPUR

By Sri B. V. Nath, M. A. B. L.

The inscription edited below was found by me in a village, named Indupur, in the Kendrapara subdivision of cuttack district in Orissa. The inscription is divided into three parts and each part has been inscribed on the circular stone seat of the deities *Jagannāth*, *Balabhadra* and *Suvadrā*. The temple, in which the inscriptions were found, seems to be a temple of the 15th or 16th century without much workmanship. But some stones in the temple indicate that the temple was rebuilt on the ruins of the old one.

Some portions of the inscriptions are not decipherable as they are damaged and overlapping. Excepting the last line, the whole of the inscription found on the circular seat of Jagannāth has been deciphered. The other parts of the inscription found on the circular seat of Balabhadra and Suvadra remain undeciphered as they are hopelessly clumsy and badly written.

The characters are Oriya of the early part of the 16th century. The only point that calls for notice is the formation of some letters that are quite different from the present Oriya letters. Palaeographically, the inscription should be placed after the 'Trisūli' inscription of the time of Pūrūṣottam Deva. The inscription may be assigned to the 1st half of the 16th century.

The language of the inscription is Oriya. There is no introductory word like Swasti etc. in the beginning. The influence of local corrupt pronunciation is also seen in the inscription (Pramesūr instead of Parameśwar).

Of the persons figuring in the inscriptions the most important is Pratāparudra Gajapati. It is clear that he belonged to the well-known lineage of Surya-Vamsi kings ruling in Orissa in the 15th-16th century. The title 'Gajapati' indicates further that he was connected with Purusottam Deva and Kapilendra Deva who were similarly Gajapatis. Elsewhere he is spoken as the son and successor of Purusottam Deva. The record does not tell us anything more about him except giving his name.

The inscription records the way of arrangement for the daily offering and Seba-puja of the gods, Jagannāth, Balabhadra and Suvadrā installed in a temple at Indupur, when Prataparudra Deva was ruling in Orissa,

TEXT.

Inscription on the circular seat of Jagannath :—

1st portion :—

दुध प्रमेसुरङ्कु लागी होइ पत्र होइव । खातेक आदि पड़ि मूलऋण सहित
धान गरु भ ४ रण कउड़ि का ७५ हाण । ए धान कउड़ि कलन्तरकु कोलारे
तिनिपाए लाभरे आए करिव । ए लाभ हेलारु ठाकुरङ्कु लागी
होइव ।.....

2nd portion :—

धान भ १ कउड़ि का ६ ॥ कालिपणि धान ग ४०... । इन्द्रपुर छिङ्कु
कोरु वर्णधान भ ४ ग ४० कउड़ि का २९ । ए धानकु कलन्तर देवे भरण
वरसकु कोलारे आठ । कोलारे चाउल ग ३ । कउड़िकि कलन्त्र देवे छ काण
आठ ।

Translation of the 1st Portion :— The milk, after being offered to the deity, would be distributed freely. On all the debtors, the unrealised loan with their interest amounts to fine rice 4 *bharanas* and cowries 75 *kāhāṇas*. The interest accrued from the paddy and cowries, will be realised in kind at the rate of 3½ in a winnowing basket. From this profit, the offering to the deity will be made.

Translation of the 2nd Portion :— Paddy one *bharana*, cowries six *kāhāṇas*, and *kaliparni* paddy 40 *gaunīs*. From the store of the deity at Indupur, coloured paddy 4 *bharanas* and forty *gaunīs* and cowries 29 *kāhāṇas*. Interest on the paddy will be realised at the rate of 8 *kola* (paddy) and 3 *gaunīs* (rice) per *bharana* per year. The interest on the cowries will be realised amounting to 6 *kahanas* and eight*,

*The meaning of some of the colloquial Oriya words are given below for clarification of the difficulties

पत्र—Free distribution, पड़िमूल ऋण—Original loan not realised. कलन्तर - Interest, कोला—Winnowing basket, लागी होइव offering to be made, कालिपणि धान—a kind of paddy, इन्द्रपुतु—Former name of the present village Indupur.

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THE IMPERIAL GANGA AND THE GAJAPATI RULE IN ORISSA. (1038-1563 A. D.)

By Dr. N. K. Sahu, M. A., Ph. D.

“The confusion in the history and chronology of Orissa”, writes Prof. R. D. Banerjee, “vanishes completely from the beginning of the 11th century A. D., when Vajrabasta of Kalinganagara assumed the title of Tri-Kalinga Adhipati and ascended the throne in sake 960=Sunday 9th April 1038 A. D.”¹ He was Vajrabasta V of the Ganga line, and was the son of Kamarṇava by Vinaya Mahadevi of Vaidumba family of the Andhra territory. His assumption of such high sounding titles as Maharajadhiraja and Tri-Kalinga-Adhipati, clearly indicates that he was an independent ruler of the Ganga line, to which he added considerable glory. The rise of the Chola power in the South at the opening of the 11th century A. D. has been a source of great danger both for the Chalukyas of Vengi and the Gangas of Kalinga and when Rajaraja I Chola (1014—1044 A. D.) led his expedition towards the north these two powers had been completely overwhelmed. Since that time, the Gangas had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Cholas until Vajrabasta V declared independence taking opportunity of the disorder that prevailed in the Chola empire under Rajadhiraja the son of Rajendra Chola, and the grand son of Rajaraja I.

Rajadhiraja, faced with terrible rebellions in Pandya, Kerala and Simhala, perhaps considered it wiser to have friendly terms with Vajrabasta, whose son Rajaraja appears to have helped him in quelling those rebellions and it was probably during this time that Rajasundari, the daughter of Rajendra Chola, was given in marriage to Rajaraja. Choḍḍanga, in his Korṇi copper plate declares that his father Rajaraja “first became the husband of the Goddess of Victory in the festival of battle with the Drāmiḷas, and next married Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Chola King”.² and in his Vizag Charters he clearly mentions Rajendra Chola as the father of Rajasundarī.³

Vajrabasta himself is known to have married a Kaḷachuri princess named Vijaya Mahadevi which further consolidated his position and cemented the relations of Kalinga and Mahakosaḷa.

In the meantime the Chola King Rājādhirāja was killed in 1052 A. D. in the battle of Kopum while fighting with the Western Chālukya King, Someśvara Ahava Malla, and he was then succeeded by his brother Rājendra II, who died childless in 1083 A. D. The next ruler Vira Rajendra, the youngest son of Rajendra I Chola, bestowed Vengi on Vijayadityan overlooking the cause of his own brother-in-law Kulottunga, after which he marched against Kalinga, where probably he obtained little success. When Vira Rajendra died, his son Adhi Rajendra ruled only for a year and a few months and then he was killed in 1070 A. D. by Kulottunga who usurped the Chola throne.⁴ It was by this

1. R. D. Banerjee, *Hist. of Orissa*, I, p. 242.

2. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, Part. 3.

time that the Ganga ruler .Vajrahasta died and was succeeded by his son Rajaraja.⁶

From the very beginning of his reign Rajaraja had to enter into war with Kulottunga who was then consolidating his position in the realm of the Cholas. A suitable *casus belli* was offered in the succession question of the Vengi kingdom which was forcibly occupied by Kulottunga driving his rival Vijayaditya out of that territory.⁶ Rajaraja took up the cause of the old and decrepit Vijayaditya "who was about to sink in the great ocean of the Cholas" and gave him a refuge in the Western region of his kingdom till his death. Kulottunga now assumed the name of Rajendra Chola and appointed his son Rajaraja Mumadi Chola as Viceroy of Vengi, who with his general, Mummadi Bhima continued fighting with the Ganga King of Kalinga.⁷ It is known from Dirghasi inscription dated 1076 A. D. that Ganapati the general of Rajaraja of Kalinga, "defeated in the battle the army of the Chola King, destroyed the troops of the King of Utkal and often defeated the King of Vengi."⁸ Thus Rajaraja had to fight constantly with the Cholas and the Chalukyas in the South and the later Soma-Vamsis of Utkalas. In the North, the issue of which was finally decided during the reign of his son Ananta Varma Chodaganga who conquered and annexed both the territories of Vengi and Utkala to his growing empire. When Rajaraja died in 1077 A. D. his kingdom was probably extending upto the hill Simachalam in the south, the river Rusikulya in the north, the sea in the east and the Khimidi region in the west.

Rajaraja was succeeded by his minor son Anantavarma Chodaganga-deva who came to the throne in 1077 A. D. It may be pointed out that Chodaganga was born of Rajasundari, the daughter of the illustrious Rajendra Chola, and thus he inherited in his veins the blood of both the virile Gangas and the stalwart Cholas. His capital was located at first at Kalinganagara, identified with modern Mukhalingam, wherefrom he shifted it to Kataka, modern Sarangagada, in 1135 A. D., which was then considered to be the centre of his rapidly growing empire. His early years, however were spent in troublesome feuds with the neighbouring state of Vengi, which was under the Suzerainty of the great king Kulottunga Chola. A Draksarama inscription mentions the invasion of Kalinga by one of Kulottunga's generals named Pallava Raya who "reduced to ashes the whole of the Kalinga Country,"⁹ and this invasion appears to have been corroborated by the Tamil text "*the Kalingattuparami*" composed by Jayangondam, according to which the Kalinga expedition was conducted by one Karunakara Tonḍaiman.¹⁰ Kulottunga himself refers to his Kalinga in-

3. *J. A.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 161—65; also see *J. A.*, *H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII.

Rajaraja's marriage with the Chola princess Raja Sundari, is a subject of great controversy; for this see *J. A. S. B.* LXXII, 1903, p. 108. Prof. Kielhorn identifies Rajendra Chola with Rajendra Chola II, alias Kulottunga Chola I, vide *Ep.*, *Ind.* VIII, App. I, p. 17, Note 2.

4. *Historical Inscriptions of S. India*, p. 82; see also *S. I. Ep. Rep.* 1925—26.

5. See the Bruhat Kodila Grant of Rajaraja in *S. I. Ep. Rep.*, 1918—19.

6. An inscription of Kulottunga, dated 1076 A. D. has been found in the Guntur dist. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 278.

7. *S. I. Ep. Rep.* 1921—22.

8. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX.

9. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII.

10. See Cantoes XI and XII of the *Kalingattuparami*.

vasion in the Tiruvidadimarudur inscription (A. D. 1096)¹¹ in which he boasts of seizing the Kalinga Mandalam whose rivers were checked by dams, and this achievement is again mentioned in a Simhachalam inscription¹² dated 1111 A. D. Evidently, Chodaganga, during his early career, suffered some serious reverses at the hands of Kulottunga, but in 1118 when this great ruler breathed his last he could easily conquer the whole of Vengi. By this time he also considered himself "decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala",¹³ and so it appears clear that he conquered Utkala sometime before 1118 A. D. His Utkala conquest seems to have taken place in 1112 A. D. as it has been referred to in the Korni Copper plate dated in January 1113 and it was by this time that Suvarna Kesari the last of the Somavamsi rulers was completely defeated by him. Chodaganga then consolidated his strength in the newly conquered territories of Vengi and Utkala and made vigorous preparations for an expedition against Bengal. The verse 30 of the Kendupatna copper plate states "Hotly pursued by Gangesvara, the King of Mandara first fled from his capital, whose ramparts had already been destroyed by the forces of Kalinga, and then again, from the battle field on the bank of the Ganges."¹⁴ This Mandara has been identified with Aparā-Mandara of the Ramcharita¹⁵ and also with Mandaran mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,¹⁶ and probably it is same as the modern Bhitargarh, situated eight miles to the West of Arambagh in the Hooghly district. The Bengal invasion of Chodaganga might have taken place sometime after the death of Ramapala in 1120, and the Kendupatna C. P. reveals that "he exacted tribute from all the lands between the Ganga (Ganges) and the Gomati Ganga (Godavari)". In 1135 A. D. he refers to his "newly made conquests of three quarters, northern, southern, and western,"¹⁷ and this was the year when his capital was transferred from Mukhalingam to Saraugagaḍa Kaṭaka.

It was by this time that Chodaganga had to fight with Ratnadeva II, the Kalachuri King of Kosala, and the latter in his Kharod plate claims victory over "King Chodaganga the Lord of Kalinga".¹⁸

Chodaganga was not only a great warrior and a statesman, he was also a famous patron of arts and culture. From the Kendupatna Copper plate of Narasimha II it is definitely known that he caused to be constructed the great temple of Jagannatha as well as the temple of Laksmi at Puri, and it was during his reign that Ramanuja the famous apostle of Sri Vaisnava cult preached his philosophy of qualified monism in Orissa. In 1142 A. D. Kamarnava, the eldest son of Chodaganga by his chief queen Kasturikamodini, was declared a joint ruler,¹⁹ and four years after, the old emperor appears to have abdicated the throne in his favour.²⁰ Kamarnava, who was quite advanced in age at the

11. *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 158.

12. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 72.

13. See his Vizag Copper plates of Saka 1040, *Ind. Ant.* XVIII, pp. 165-72.

14. *J. A. S. B.* (Old Series) Vol. LXV, 1896, Pt I, p. 232.

15. *Ramcharita*, II, 5; *Memoirs of the A. S. B.* Vol. III p. 36.

16. Blochmann and Jarett, Vol. II, p. 141.

17. *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1335.

18. For Kharod plate see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXII; See also *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 40-43, and *Ibid.*, pp. 47-49.

19. See the Puri Copper plate in *J. A. S. B.* 1895.

20. Epigraphical evidences suggest that Kamarnava ascended the throne in Saka 1069—1147 A. D. *S. I. I.* Vol. V, Nos. 1044, 1323 and Vol. VI No. 1174.

time of his accession died childless in 1156 A. D. after which the throne was occupied by Raghava, another son of Chodaganga by his second wife Indiradevi. Raghava also died childless in 1170 A. D. and was succeeded by his step brother, Rajaraja II whose mother Chandralekha was the third queen of Chodagangadeva King Laksmāna Sena of Bengal, who was contemporary to Rajaraja II, claims in his Madhainagar inscription²¹ a victory over Kalinga which, however, appears quite extravagant. It was during the reign of Rajaraja II that the great Vaisnava poet Jayadeva flourished in Orissa and composed his famous Gitagovinda and Piyusa Lahari.

In 1190 A.D. Aniyanka or Anangabhimā II was made the joint ruler with his brother Rajaraja II, and two years later after the death of Rajaraja he became the sole monarch. When he was ruling over Orissa the political conditions in northern India underwent violent changes and the Islamic power of Afghanistan and Central Asia burst upon the Panjab and the Gang-tic Valley with irresistible might. Muhammad of Ghur successfully laid the foundation of Muslim domination over India by defeating the chivalrous Rajput Prthviraj Chauhan in the battle of Tarain in 1192 A. D. This victory was further consolidated by his brilliant general Qutab-ud-din who decisively crushed the Rajput powers in northern India, while Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar Khalji occupied Bihar and Bengal by the end of the 12th Century A.D. It was during this troublous time that Anangabhimā II was succeeded by his son Rajaraja III whose reign witnessed the first Muslim invasion against Orissa. We know from *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj-i-Siraj that Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji sent in 1205 A.D. two Khalji Amirs, Muhammad-i Sheran and his brother Ahmed-i-Sheran to invade Jajnagar (Orissa), who were opposed by Rajaraja III; but as in the meantime Muhammad Bakhtiyar was killed, these two brothers had to "come back from that quarter" achieving nothing²². Minhaj, however, states that when Ghiyasuddin Iwaz Shah became the master of Muslim Bengal in 1212 A.D. he realised tributes from Banga, Kamarpur, Tirhut and Jayanagar.²³ but this Jayanagar was very probably the same as Tippera and not Orissa.

Anangabhimā III succeeded his father Rajaraja III in 1211 A.D. and almost immediately after his accession he had to face the Muslim invasion led by Ghiyasuddin Iwaz. His Chatesvara temple inscription clearly indicates that the Muslims were defeated and repulsed by the Orissan warriors led by the general Visnu. "What more shall I speak of his heroism?", declares Anangabhimā in praise of this general "He alone fought against the Muhammadan King and applying arrows to his bow, killed many skilful warriors. Even the gods would assemble in the sky to obtain the pleasure of seeing him with their sleepless and fixed eyes"²⁴.

Anangabhimā III had also to fight with the Kalachuris (the Haihayas) of Ratnapur in C.P. and the same inscription credits general Visnu as having—defeated the King of Tummana "while fighting on the banks of the Bhima, at the skirts of the Vindhya hills, and on the sea shore".²⁵

21. N. G. Majumdar, *The inscription of Bengal* Vol. III.

22. *Tabaqat*, Eng. trans. by Major Revery, Vol. I, p. 574.

23. *Ibid*, p. 587.

24. *J. A. S. B.* (old series) Vol. LXVII, 1898, Part. 1.

25. P. p. 322-26.

26. *Ibid*.

Anangabhimha III laid the foundation of Cuttack by constructing the fort of Baranasi Kataka, to which he transferred his capital. He was a devout worshipper of Jagannath and for keeping himself close to the Great Lord he built a gigantic temple for him in his new capital in the Saka year 1152.²⁶

Narasimha I, the son of Anangabhimha III by his wife Kasturadevi, came to the throne in 1234 A. D. He was by far the greatest ruler of the Imperial Ganga line and his name used to strike terror into the hearts of the Muslim Governors of Bengal and Oudh. By the time of his accession the Sultanate of Delhi had convulsed as a result of the death of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish in 1235 A. D., and the scramble for succession among Ruknuddin Razziyat, Bahram and Masaud afforded opportunity for Tughan Khan to assume undisputed supremacy in Bengal. Izzuddin Tughral Tughan Khan was, however, too ambitious to invade the territory of Orissa in 1234 A. D. (A. H. 611), where upon Narasimha I, "the Kae of Jainagar" advanced towards Lakhnauti,²⁷ and in the engagement that took place at Katasin quite a large number of Muslims were slain, while Tughan Khan saved his life by taking to flight. The Kendupatna Copper plate states: "The white river Ganga blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanis of Rarha and Varendra, and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement, was now transformed by that monarch (Narasimha I) into the black watered Yamuna."²⁸ Sultan Mas'ud Shah of Delhi directed Qamruddin Tamur Khan, the governor of Oudh, to come to the help of Tughan Khan,²⁹ but before the arrival of the Oudh armies the Orissa invaders had left Bengal at the approach of the monsoons, after sacking Lakhnanor the head quarters of Rarha.

In 1246 when Ikhtiyar Uddin Yuzbak was appointed the Governor of Bengal by Sultan Balban, he made vigorous preparation to avenge the defeat of Tughral Tughan Khan and invaded Orissa sometimes in 1247. General Samanta Raya (Sabantar, the son-in-law of Narasimha I, inflicted a heavy defeat upon Yuzbak, who lost a white elephant that was considered very valuable.³⁰ Yuzbak, however, remained quiet for a few years, and subsequently with the help sent by Sultan Balban he succeeded in driving out the Orissan armies from their stronghold at Armardan (in Hooghly district?) sometimes before 1255 A. D. (A. H. 653). With the death of Yuzbak in 1257 A. D. the hostility between Orissa and Bengal ceased for a time, but the southern districts of west Bengal, i. e. Hooghly, Howrah and Midnapore, continued to be a part of the empire of the Gangas.³¹

The greatest achievement of Narasimha I is the magnificent temple of the Sun at Konarak (Chandrabhaga), which is considered to be "the very

26. See the Nagari plate in *E. I.* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

27. *Tabagat*, Op. Cit. pp. 738-39.

28. *Kendupatna C. P.*, Op. Cit.

29. *Tabagat*, Op. Cit. p. 740.

30. *Ibid* p. 763

31. R. D. Benerji, *Hist. of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 268

culmination of aesthetic beauty." He is also known to be a great patron of Sanskrit learning and large number of scholars, chief among whom were Visvanatha Kaviraja, the author of 'Sahitya Darpana', and Vidyadhara, that of 'Ekavali', were flourishing in his Court.

After the death of Narasimha I in 1264 A. D., his son Bhanudeva I, born of the queen Sitadevi, succeeded to the throne. It was during his reign that Narahari Tirtha, who happened to be the spiritual guardian of the young prince Narasimha, actively preached the gospel of his Guru Madhvacharya in Orissa, and when this ruler was succeeded in 1278 by Narasimha II he wielded considerable political power and became for sometimes the *Mandalika* (governor) of Kalinga. The year 1273 is remarkable in the Cultural History of Orissa as it witnessed the construction of the temple of Ananta Vasudeva in Bhuvanesvara by Chandrikadevi, the daughter of Anangabhimha III.³²

In 1279 A. D. Tughril Khan, the Governor of Bengal, is said to have over-ran Jajnagar, but as according to Ziauddin Barani this territory was situated to the east of the Brahmaputra, it was, without doubt, the same as Tippera.³³ It is however known from the Kendupatna Copper plate that Narasimha II granted two villages while he was "out on a campaign on the banks of the Ganges....." and thus it indicates that this monarch had to march to the northern frontiers of his empire on some military pursuits sometimes in 1296 A.D.

Narasimhadeva II was succeeded in 1306 A.D. by his son Bhanudeva II who, according to his Puri plates, is known to have dedicated his extensive empire to Purusottama Jagannatha, considering himself merely the deputy of the divine overlord.³⁴ It was during his time that prince Ulugh Khan (Mahammad bin Tughluq) the son of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, invaded Orissa after having conquered Warangal in 1123 A. D., but he had to go back capturing only forty elephants.³⁵ On the other hand, we know from the Puri plates of Narasimha IV that Bhanudeva II could defeat the Sultan Ghiyasuddin who probably invaded Orissa after reducing Nasiruddin, the ruler of Lakhnauti.³⁶

Bhanudeva II died in 1328 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Narasimha III whose long rule covering about a quarter of a century was peaceful and eventless. But his son Bhanudeva III, who came to the throne in 1352 A. D., was destined to encounter a stormy and troublous period, during which the very foundations of the Ganga empire were shaken by the repeated onslaughts of the Muslims. In the very year of his accession Orissa was raided by Sultan Shamsuddin Illiyas Shah of Bengal, who "led an

32. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII, pp. 150-55.

33. Elliot and Dowson, *Twarikh-i-Firuz, Shahi*, Vol. III, p. 113.

34. *J. K. H. R. S.* Vol. I, pp. 251-53.

35. Elliot and Dowson, *Op. Cit.* p. 234.

36. *J. A. S. B.* (old series), Vol. IXIV, 1105, Part I, pp. 136-40.

expedition to Jainugger in order to obtain elephants and returned to Lakhnauti.³⁷ Three years after that (1356 A. D.) Bhanudeva had to meet the armies of the newly founded empire of Vijayanagara, led by Sangam II, the nephew of the emperor Bukka I, and was defeated in the engagement. The Portuguese traveller Fernao Nunez states :—Bucarao (Bukka'aya) "took the kingdom of Orya, which is very great ; it touches on Bemgalla."³⁸

The great on-slaught, however, came in 1361 A. D., when Sultan Firuz Tughluq invaded Orissa and destroyed innumerable temples from Khiching (Kinianagar) to Cuttack (Baranasi). It is known from *Twarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* that the Rae who was called "Bhanu Diw" took refuge in an island of the river, while the Sultan destroyed a stone image that was worshipped within the fort. The Rae, then made overtures for peace giving twenty elephants to the Sultan and further agreed to furnish a certain number every year as tribute.³⁹ Firuz Shah, there upon withdrew from Orissa, after which Bhanudeva continued to enjoy his paramountcy till his death in 1378 A. D.

Bhanudeva III was succeeded by his son Narasimha IV, who had to fight with his southern enemies, although the north was comparatively quiet during his time. In 1381 A. D. Anavema Reddi conquered Simhachalam but the same year he was killed by the Velam Chief Singama II, who occupied that region.⁴⁰ The Velugoti Vamsavali also states that Singama II worsted the Gajapati King⁴¹ in the battle, but the authenticity of this work appears very doubtful. It is known from the Anaparti⁴² and the Gopavaram⁴³ grants that Kumaragiri, the Reddi Chief of Rajmundri, sent his general Katayavema in 1389 A. D. to invade Orissa, who forced the Ganga King to sue for peace and assumed the proud epithet of "Kataka Churakara" (the destroyer of Kataka). Another general of Kumaragiri named Devaya *alias* Goghnaya, also claims victory over the "Gajapati King" this very year.⁴⁴ But the inscriptions of Narasimha IV reveal that the Simhachalam region was under his full sway as late as 1391 A. D., and so his reverses at the hands of the Reddi Chiefs were quite temporary in their effects.

It is difficult to say when Narasima IV was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva IV. That he was ruling as late as 1416 A. D. is known from one of the grants of his queen,⁴⁵ while the earliest known date of Bhanudeva IV is Saka 1336-1414 A. D., recorded in a Simhachalam inscription of his queen Rajuladevi.⁴⁶ Bhanudeva IV happens to be the last of the long series of rulers of the Ganga dynasty and he is variously known as Matta Bhanu, Nisanka Bhanu and Madhupa Bhanu. He had a very able minister in the person of Kapilesvara Rautaraya, whose ambition it was to retrieve the fallen fortune of the empire by an aggressive policy in the South. The Orissan

37. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 219, note 1. See Ferishta, trans. by Briggs, Vol. IV.

38. Sewell, *A forgotten Empire*, p. 300.

39. Elliot and Dowson, *Op. Cit.* pp. 212-216. For critical discussion of the invasion of Orissa by Firuz Shah, see *O. H. R. J.* Vol. I, No. 1 pp. 31-35.

40. Vide the article on "Kumaragiri Reddi" *Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Cong.* Calcutta Session.

41. Narasimha IV is the first Orissan ruler to bear the epithet of [Gajapati.

42. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 325.

43. *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. XI, Parts 3 and 4.

44. *S. I. I.* Vol. No. 1.

45. *S. I. I.* Vol. No. 73L.

46. *Annual Reports of Epigraphy (1899)* No. 849

armies marched towards the South in 1420 A. D. and captured the great stronghold of Kondavidu,⁴⁷ as a result of which the Reddi power was completely annihilated and the Reddis of Kondavidu disappeared from history.

There is little evidence of any Muslim invasion of Orissa during the rule of Bhanudeva IV excepting a doubtful record of Ferishta, which states that Sultan Hashang Ghori of Malwa came over Orissa in the guise of a merchant and captured the King by surprise who, however, purchased his liberty presenting Hoshang a number of elephants.⁴⁸ Prof. R. D. Banerji suggests that this episode might have taken place at Ratnapur or Tummana in C. P. and not in Orissa.⁴⁹

Bhanudeva IV was an incapable ruler given to luxury and licentious habits and when he died childless in 1455 A. D. the throne was seized by the veteran minister Kapilesvara Rautray, who thus started the rule of the Solar dynasty in Orissa.⁵⁰

With the accession of Kapilendradeva the history of Orissa became vigorous and eventful. The later Ganga monarch had been considerably enfeebled by the repeated incursions of the Muslims, as well as, the other neighbouring powers, and the Islamic powers in Bengal and the Bahmani states were acting like pestle and mortar to smash the Orissan hegemony in the Deccan. The kingdom of Vijayanagar was also rapidly extending over the Eastern coast, and under Devarayana II (1422-48 A. D.) its territorial limits in the north almost boarded the Godavari delta.⁵¹ Under such circumstances Orissa was in need of a very strong monarch to preserve her territorial integrity as well as to win back her fallen glories. Fortunately, she could get such an able ruler in the person of Kapilendradeva, who is generally regarded as her greatest emperor after Kharavela.

Immediately after his accession Kapilendradeva put down with a strong hand the rebellions of the Ganga princes helped by some feudatory chiefs, which engrossed his attention probably as long as 1442 A. D. This year the Gajapati issued a warning to his feudatories in the following words:— "All Kings in my kingdom of Orissa should work for the good of the paramount sovereign, and should keep to virtuous ways, and refrain from bad ways. If they act badly towards their sovereign, they will be expelled from the kingdom and all their property be confiscated.⁵² After thus consolidating his powers Kapilendra first directed his armies against the Reddis of Rajahmundry in 1443-44 A. D., and occupied their territories.⁵³ The

47. *Historical Ins. of S. India*, p. 213.

48. Briggs *Ferishta*, Vol. iv, p. 179.

49. R. D. Banerji, *Hist. of Orissa*, Vol. I p. 287.

50. A section of opinion on the authority of the '*Gangavamsamu-Charitam*' asserts that Kapilendradeva was an usurper to the throne, and that when Bhanudeva came down to the South to ward off the Reddi-attack upon Kalinga in Saka 1356, the ministers made Kapilesvara King at Cuttack. Vide *Proceedings of the Ind. Hist. Congress* 1945 p. 206

51. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, p. 290.

52. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXII, 1193, part I, pp. 103-104.

53. *Proceedings of the I. H. Congress* 1945, p. 207.

Draksarama inscription dated in Saka 1366, however, indicates that the Orissan armies in their Southern expedition had to face the Vijayanagar forces led by Mallapa Vodeya, the result of which was probably indecisive. But epigraphical evidences support the fact that Rajah mundry was included in the empire of Orissa by 1448 A. D.⁵⁴

After occupying the '*rajya*' of Rajahmundry Kapilendradeva turned his attention towards Bengal. A record on the Jagannatha temple incised in the 19th Anka of his reign (1450 A. D.), refers to his victory over Mallika Parisa (Malik Padshah), the Sultan of Gaur, for which the Gajapati presented Lord Jagannatha a precious *sari* named *pundarikagopa*. It is in this record that Kapilendradeva assumes for the first time the title of 'Gaudevara', which clearly indicates that he defeated Sultan Nasiruddin of Bengal (1442-59) sometimes before 1450 A. D.⁵⁵

The Bahmani Sultan Alauddin Ahmad. II (1435-57), who was hard pressed by the Sultans of Khandesh and Malwa in the north and by the ruler of Vijayanagar in the South, was eager to seek the friendship of Kapilendra-deva, who possessed a huge elephant corps of one hundred thousand.⁵⁶ But we know from the Tarikh-i-Firishta that Humayun Shah Bahmani, who came to power in 1458 A. D., sent a large army under Khwajah-i-Jahan to capture Devarkonda, which was then under the suzerainty of Kapilendradeva. A great battle was therefore fought sometimes in A. H. 864 (1459 A. D.), in which the Bahmani forces were defeated with a heavy loss. Humayun Shah died in September 1461, and was succeeded by an eight year old son, Nizam Khan. Seizing this opportunity Kapilendra invaded the Bahmani empire, allied with the Kakatiya Chief of Warangal, and almost reached the gates of the capital Bidar.⁵⁷ This crushing blow was timely given on the Bahmani power, and it was very probably after thus securing his rear that Kapilendradeva marched his invincible armies against Vijayanagar.

The *Gangadasapratapavilasam*, a drama of doubtful authority, maintains that Mallikarjuna, the successor of Devaraya II, repulsed in the spirit of a lion cub the combined strength of the Hayapati (the Bahmani Sultan) and the Gajapati (the ruler of Orissa) who fled away to their respective Kingdoms.⁵⁸ Such a claim however, appears quite exaggerated, and in the absence of any corroborative evidence, it may be regarded as unhistorical.⁵⁹ On the other hand, a number of inscriptions discovered in the

54. *Ibid.*

55. R. D. Banarji, *op. Cit.*, p. 301, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXII, 1893, part, I, pp. 92-100,

56. *Ibid* pp. 291-92,

57. *Ibid.*

58. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, 'Ancient Indian and South Indian History, and Culture' Vol. II, p. 39-40 See also Eggelina's Catalogue of Sans. Ms. in the Library of the India Office, Part, VII, p. 1610.

59. Prof. Eggellag refers this war to the war of A. D. 1449, and takes it as historical, but he overlooks the fact that there is absolutely no mention of this or any war at all in Firishta at this period.

Tamil territory amply testify to the decisive victories of the Orissan armies over the forces of Mallikarjuna who ruled over Vijayanagara from 1449 to 1465 A. D. This southern expedition was led by one of the sons of Kapilendra-deva named Kumara Hamvira, who, according to the Ananta varam plates of Prataparudra, "carried his arms successfully to the southern sea, where he washed his sword, stained with the blood of the enemy Kings."⁶⁰ Two inscriptions of Mannur (in South Arcot dist.) dated in the Saka year 1386=1464 A. D., reveal that Daksina Kapilesvara Kumara Mahapatra, son of Hamvira, who was previously the governor of Kondavidu was in that year in charge of a large number of districts including Chandragiri and Tiruchhinapalla (Trichinapoly).⁶¹ Thus, Kapilendradeva, by the year 1464 A. D., was in possession of the entire eastern sea board of India from the Ganges to the Kavery,⁶² and the Jambai Siva temple inscription⁶³ indicates that the South Arcot again formed a part of the Orissan empire as late as 1473 A. D.

In the Gopinathpur temple inscription Kapilendradeva is eulogised as the conqueror of the lion of Karnata, the conqueror of Gulbarga, the destroyer of Malava and Delhi, and as one who crushed Gauda.⁶⁴ We do not know whether his boasted claims over Malwa and Delhi has any historical basis or not, but the proud titles of the Gajapati, i. e. Gaudesvara, Navakoti-Karnata-Kalavargesvara etc. are no doubt, perfectly justified.

This great conqueror could also set up a well-organised system of administration to consolidate his far flung empire, and like Harsvardhana, he was personally travelling all parts of it for supervising the strategic districts. It was while he was out in such inspection tours that he breathed his last in December 1466 in one of his camps on the Krisna.

Gajapati Kapilendradeva was succeeded by his son Purusottamadeva, who ascended the throne in March 1467 A. D. The accounts of the Madalapanji and the "Gangavamsanucharitam", as well as those of Ferishta,⁶⁵ the Muslim historian, refer to a war of succession among the sons of Kapilendradeva, and it was probably owing to some such troubles that the accession of Purusottamadeva was delayed by three months after the demise of his great father. This interval being a period of anarchy the enemies of Kapilendra took timely advantage of it, and they aggrandised and consolidated their strength at the cost of the Orissan territories.

Soon after the death of Kapilendradeva, the young Bahmani Sultan Mahammad III (1463-82 A. D.) sent against Orissa a great army under Nizam-ul-mulk Hasan Bahri, a converted Hindu, who occupied some important forts including Kondavidu.⁶⁶ In the meantime Saluva Narasimha, the

60. See Proc. of Ind. Hist. Congress 1945 pp. 206-9. See also the *Annual Report Asst. Arch. Supdt. for epigraphy* for 1906-07, p. 84.

61. R.D. Banerji, *of Oit.*, pp. 294-95.

62. An inscription issued during the reign of Saluva Narasimha in 1471 A.D. (No. 1 of 1905) suggests that the Gajapati occupied these territories as early as 1461 A.D.

63. *Annual Report Epigraphy* for 1906-7, p.84.

64. J.A.S.B. Vol. LXII 1883, pp. 91-92.

65. Briggs, "*Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*", Cambray and Co., 1909, Vol. II, pp. 487-88.

66. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 288

ambitious ruler of Chandragiri moved towards the north and captured all the territories south of the Godavari delta.⁶⁷ Purusottamadeva was thus faced with two great adversaries at a time when he was to consolidate his newly acquired throne. He could, however, defeat Hasan Bahri and recapture the fort of Kondavidu, after which the Muslims were driven out for a time from the Godavari delta. But when Muhammad III Bahmani personally undertook the campaign with a vast army the Gajapati monarch sustained a defeat.⁶⁸

Purusottamadeva had to wait till he was strong enough to retrieve his prestige and fortunately for him, the Bahmani empire plunged steadfastly into confusion as a result of the murder of the great statesman Muhammad Gawan Gilani on the 5th April 1491⁶⁹. When the Sultan Muhammad III died in March 1482 the real strength of the empire suddenly collapsed, and his imbecile successor Mahmud Shah Bahmani was unable to bring order out of the troublous party feuds of his court. Taking this opportunity Purusottamadeva mobilised a huge strength towards Telingana, and epigraphical records of the time clearly suggest that the Orissan armies not only recaptured the strategic fort of Kondavidu, but also overran the whole of the Godavari-Krishna doab including the Guntur district⁷⁰. After thus driving out the Muslim intruders from this coveted territory the Gajapati monarch directed his forces towards further South with the determination of reconquering the dominions of his great father. Saluva Narasimha had by this time usurped the throne of Vijayanagara after putting to death the Yadava ruler Virupaksha sometimes in 1485-86 A.D.⁷¹, and so he was now to face the irresistible strength of the Orissan armies. The Saluva was, however, overwhelmed by Purusottamadeva and gave the hands of his daughter Rupamvika (Padmayati?) to the victor, who also took as his trophy the idol Sakai Gopala and a jewelled throne from Vijayanagara⁷². The Ratnavedi on which the images of Jagannath stand at present inside the sanctum of the Puri temple, is supposed to be this very Jewelled throne, and R.D. Banerji claims to have recognised on it the bizarre arabesque of the decadent Haysala type⁷³.

Purushottamadeva died in 1497 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Prataprudra who, however, appears to have lacked in vigour and skill of his accession the political conditions in the Deccan, as well as, in Bengal were in great chaos, offering favourable opportunities to the new Gajapati for his task of consolidating Orissan supremacy. Mahmud Shah, the imbecile Bahmani Sultan was unable to maintain the integrity of his empire, which was divided into five principalities, the immediate result of which was that the Muslim

67. *Ibid* p. 288, Aiyangar, *Source of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 90-102.

See also *soluvabhyudayam* by Rajanatha Dindim, but the historical value of this is questionable.

68. Briggs, *Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, Vol. II, pp. 494-96. *cf. cit.*, *Cambridge Hist. of India*, Vol. III, pp. 515-18. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 288.

69. R.D. Banerji, *Op. Cit.* p. 314.

70. Sewell, *A sketch of South Indian dynasties*, p. 48. *J.A.S.B.* 1900, Vol. LXIX, p. 183. See also *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII, pp. 155-58.

71. The last available record of Virupaksha is dated Friday July 29, 1485; and the first in which Saluva Narasimha appears with the Imperial titles is dated November 1, 1486. Vide Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Anc. India and South India Hist. and Culture* Vol. II.

72. For epigraphical references of the conquest of Vijayanagara by Purusottamadeva vide *Annual Report of the Asst. Arch. Supdt.* for Epigraphy, (S. Circle) for the years 1913-14, p. 18, No. 156. See also the Potavaram grant of 1489 in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII, pp. 157-58.

For literary references vide *Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita*, *Madhya Lila*, Bangarasi Ed. P. 98, and Kanohi Kaveri, by Kapileswara Vidyabhusan.

73. R. D. Banerji, *Op. Cit.* p. 316.

power in the Deccan became sufficiently enfeebled. The empire of Vijayanagar was also equally weak owing to internal dissensions, and from the death of Narasa Nayaka in 1505 A. D. till the accession of Krishnadeva Raya early in 1510 A. D. its political condition was in utter confusion. In Bengal also there were great political disorders and the hold of Alauddin Husain Shah upon the throne was then not so very firm. But Prataparudra failed to utilise to his best these earlier opportunities, and as the strength of his enemies soon increased on all sides and the political horizons of Orissa were overcast with dark clouds his discomfiture was only a matter of time.

In January 1510 Krishnadeva Raya, the greatest monarch in the history of Vijayanagar came to the throne with two great ambitions which were to snatch away from Orissa the supremacy over the eastern coast and to humble the Muslim powers in the Deccan.⁷⁴ Quli Qutb Shah of Golkonda, who declared his independence of the Bahmani Sultan in 1512 A.D. rapidly strengthened his position and threatened the Telugu territories of Orissa from the South. Direct danger, however, first came from the north when Sultan Hussain Shah of Bengal (1493-1519 A.D.), eager to deliver a timely blow upon Orissa, took advantage of the absence of the Gajapati in the north and sent a large army in 1509 under Ismail Ghazi who, it is said, advanced as far as the town of Puri. The priests of Jaganratha fled away with the images into the Chilka lake, while the Muslims desecrated the temple precincts. Prataparudra, who was then in the far off South, hastened back to meet the invaders, and as the latter retreated at his approach he closely pursued them to the banks of the Ganges. The Muhammadan armies saved themselves by taking shelter in the fort of Mandaran, which was also besieged by the Gajapati, but as Govinda Vidyadhara one of his ministers, treacherously joined hands with the enemies he was forced to raise the siege and retire to Orissa.⁷⁵

Krishnadeva Raya started his campaign against Orissa early in 1512, and at once obtained a series of brilliant victories. The Vijayanagara forces, occupied Udayagiri in 1513, Kondavidu in 1515, where Virabhadra the heroic son of Prataparudra was taken captive, and Kondapalle in 1516, where one of the queens of the Gajapati, along with another son and seven principal nobles, was imprisoned.⁷⁶ After Kondapalle, the next important stronghold was Simhachalam near Vizagpatam, which was also rapidly occupied by Krishnadeva Raya, who erected there a pillar of victory and inscribed the records of his success in the precinct of the Narasimha Svamin temple of the place.⁷⁷ Prataparudra was now forced to sue for peace and ceded all his territories to the South of the Godavari to Krishnadeva Raya, who also took the hands of one of the Orissan princesses, named Jaganmohini.⁷⁸

Ferista states that Quli Qutb Shah of Golkonda captured some portions of Orissa, between Kondavidu and Simhachalam,⁷⁹ but in view of the cam-

74. R. D. Banerji, *Op. Cit.* P. 323;

R. Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.

75. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX, 1900, P. 186. See also Madalapanji Ed. by Prachi Samit. P. 53.

76. See the Mangalagiri inscriptions.

Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, PP. 110-11.

77. Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India 1908-09, P. 170.

78. Sewell, *A forgotten Empire*, P. 320 for Krishnadeva Raya and his campaigns vide "The yet remembered Ruler of a long forgotten Empire" by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in *Anc. India and South Ind. Hist. and Culture* PP. 117-72.

79. Briggs, "Rise of the Muhammadan power in India" Vol. III, P. 354.

paings of Krsnadeva Raya, it is difficult to rely upon the accounts of this historian. If, however, Sultan Quli actually conquered any territories in this part, he must have done so after the conclusion of treaty between Orissa and Vijayanagara in 1519 A. D. 80.

After this period of infamous defeats and territorial losses, Prataparudra ruled for a long period of twenty years, and this period, which is remarkable in History owing to the activities of Sri Chaitanya and the five Associates, was singularly quiet and glorious. That the Gajapati was not an effete ruler is known from the fact that Orissa was absolutely peaceful and enormously prosperous in this period, and there is no evidence of any other external or internal troubles during these long twenty years of his rule. The period witnessed the splendid achievements in religion and culture and the Catholic Gajapati activity patronised the intellectual movements by his unsparing liberality. Apart from the Five-Associates, a large band of scholars, philosophers and literateurs flourished by this time among whom mention may be made of Virasimha, the Buddhist scholar, Lolla-Laksmidhara, the famous commentator of "*Saundarya Lahari*", the reputed Kavidindima author of "*Bhakti Uaibhava*" and "*Bhakti Bhagavata*" Sri Sai Ramananda, the writer of the drama "*Jagannathaballabha*", and Pandit Godavara Misra, the composer of "*Yoga Chintamani*". Prataparudra himself, like his father Purusottama, is known to be a profound scholar, and his famous "*Saraswati Vilasam*" is an admirable work of Hindu Law.

The fall of Orissa

But inspite of this cultural glow, Orissa, politically was fast decaying. Prataparudra's defeat at the hands of Krsnadeva Ray and Quli Qutb, may be said to be the beginning of this political decay and during the time of the Gajapati the territorial limits of Orissa sank back to almost those of the later Ganga period. The cause of this decline is attributed by scholars to the religious influence of Sri Chaitanya over the people of Orissa in general and Gajapati Prataparudra in particular.⁸¹ But it should be remembered that although Sri Chaitanya visited Orissa early in 1510 A. D., he did not settle down here till 1512, and that his meeting with Prataparudra probably took place sometimes in 1513 A. D., when the latter had already encountered a series of reverses in his war against Krsnadeva Ray. It can not, however, be denied that Sri Chaitanya and the five Associates cast a vigorous influence upon the socio religious life of the people by this time, but the act of making this influence responsible for the humiliating defeats of the Gajapati is not based on critical reasoning. The Jagannatha consciousness that inspired the Orissan warriors to undertake successful campaigns under Kapilendra and Purusottamadeva, can not be said to have damped their martial spirit under Prataparudra, and moreover, there is very little reliable evidence regarding the interference of Sri Chaitanya and the Five Associates in the military and political affairs of the State, with which they were least concerned. Prof. R. D. Banerji places uncritical reliance on some Gaudiya works like, *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, *Chaitanya Bhagavata*, and *Chaitanya Mangala*, which are prone to exaggerate the influence of Sri Chaitanya on Prataparudradeva. It may be pointed out that nowhere in any of his inscriptions, which are so numerous, and in any of his literary works Prataparudra speaks of Sri Chaitanya as

80. R. D. Banerji, *Op. Cit* p. 330.

See also *J. A. S. B.* Vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 185.

81. R. D. Banerji, *Op. Cit.* pp. 330-36.

his Guru, and that contemporary literature, either Sanskrit Oriya, or Bengali, has not declared Sri Chaitanya a royal preceptor. On the other hand we know definitely that Kavidindima Jivadevacharya the court poet, was the royal Guru (श्रीजीवः कविडिण्डिमो नृपगुरुः—RASB Skt. Cat. VII. P.277; राजगुरु जीवदेवाचार्यं विरचिते—Ibid pp. 277-78). The Gajapati is always found saluting and invoking Lord Jagannath as his Master, and thus, the claim of the Gaudya writers of a later generation regarding the spiritual relation of Sri Chaitanya and Prataparudradeva is without doubt, a product of the monkish mendacity.

Mr. P. Mukherjee observes that the strength of Orissa had been sapped by the wars of aggrandisement waged by Kapilendra and Purusottama, and that the people who plundered the wealth of the subjugated territories began rolling in luxury and developed an aversion to military pursuits⁸². The opinion of Mr. Mukherjee is supported by the fact that the Orissan soldiers put very weak defence even for such strategic places as Kondavidu and Kondapalle, and also that Prataparudra in his fight against Krishnadeva Raya had to hire Muslim mercenaries to protect his disrupting empire⁸³. The internal dissensions of Orissa may also be counted as an important factor of her decline, and attention may be drawn in this connection to the treacherous conduct of the minister Govinda Vidyadhara, who openly sided with the enemies during the war of the Gajapati against the Sultan of Bengal in 1509 A. D. Over and above this, it may be said that Krishnadeva Raya the veteran enemy of Orissa was one of the most powerful emperors in the history of India and Prataparudra, who had not the calibre of a Kapilendra, and who was then faced with grave dangers both from outside and inside, was naturally incapable of resisting his determined invasion. We are, thus, disposed to believe that Sri Chaitanya and the Five Associates can in no way be blamed for the decisive defeat of the Gajapati at the hands of the mighty Tuluva emperor, and that the ultimate decline of Orissa was more due to the political than religious causes.

Prataparudradeva, inspite of his early reverses was successful in maintaining peace and order in his empire, but immediately after his death, which took place early in 1540 A. D., Orissa became just like a ship without a rudder and plunged into the whirlpool of anarchy and confusion. Two of his sons, whom we know by their nicknames as Kaluadeva and Kakharuadeva, ruled one after another only for about a year, and both of them fell victims to the treachery of the notorious Govinda Vidyadhara,⁸⁴ who usurped the throne in 1541-42 A. D. Govinda Vidyadhara, inspite of his treacherous conduct, would have proved an efficient ruler had there been no other rivals of him equally treacherous and ambitious to obtain the throne. In 1546 A. D. when Jamshed Quli Qutab Shah of Golkunda invaded Southern Orissa the new ruler had to rush towards the South to face the Sultan with all his might, and it was by this time that Raghubhanja, a scion of the Bhanja dynasty of Mayurbhanj or Koenjhar raised the standard of rebellion, perhaps with the help of the Governor of Bengal, in order to have a coup d'etat. Govinda Vidyadhara, who placed his own interest above that of the State, left Southern

82. P. Mukherjee, *Hist. of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa* p. 173.

83. R. D. Banerji *Op. Cit.* p. 325.

84. See *Medala Panji*, (Prachi Samiti), p. 56.

districts to the mercy of the Muslim invaders, and hastened back towards the north to suppress his rivals to the throne. It was very probably from this time that the territories to the South of Simhachalam were cut off from Orissa for all times to come.

Govinda Vidyadhara died in *Cri.* 1549 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Chakrapratap, who after an inglorious rule of eight years was murdered by his own son Narasimha Jena in 1557 A. D. But this parricide was soon assassinated in a successful plot, organised by the general Mukunda Harichandan, who under Govinda Vidyadhara was the governor of Cuttack. and was ever since in the look out of an opportunity of seizing the throne. A bloody Civil war then ensued between Mukunda Harichandan and prince Raghuram, the younger son of Chakrapratap, and the confusion became the worst when in the midst of this anarchy the ambitious Raghubhanja again revolted and advanced from the north with the help of the Musalmans of Bengal. For more than a year and a half the result of this Civil war was quite uncertain, but subsequently Mukunda Harichandan succeeded in putting to sword the unfortunate Raghuram and in taking the minister Dulei Vidyadhara, as well as, the crafty Raghubhanja into captivity.⁷⁹ He thus obtained the throne in 1559 A. D. after crossing a pool of blood, and saved Orissa, for a time, from a state of complete political dissolution.

Mukundadeva, without doubt, was a very capable general, and as a ruler, he was skillful and formidable. But unfortunately he was surrounded on all sides by traitors and enemies, and the political condition during his time was more explosive than it was under Govinda Vidyadhara. With indomitable energy he drove out the Muslim allies of Raghubhanja and suppressed the enemies at home, but very soon he was involved in the strife between the Mughals and the Afghans, the result of which was disastrous for him and his country. Sultan Sulaiman Khan Kararani of Bengal who had been mortified at the defeat of his protegee, Ragubhanja, turned an inveterate enemy of Mukundadeva when the latter afforded shelter to Ibrahim Khan Sur, whom the Sultan wanted to capture. The Mughal emperor Akbar, who was then planning the invasion of Bengal took note of the enmity between Orissa and Bengal and very soon entered into an alliance with Mukundadeva. There was exchange of embassies between Delhi and Cuttack⁸⁰ and the reaction of the alliance was so strongly felt in Bengal that the Sultan could not dare assist Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman, who had revolted against the Mughal emperor.⁸¹ In 1567 A. D., when Akbar was engaged in the siege of Chitore, Sulaiman seized the opportunity to crush Mukundadeva and send a large army under his son Bayazid. Two of the generals of Mukundadeva, named Durga Bhanja and Jihat Rai (Chhota Ray),⁸² who had been sent to face the invaders,

85. R. D. Banerji, *Op. Cit.* P. 341.

86. Akbarnama, Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 381.

87. Ain-i-Akbari, Eng. Trans. Vol. I, pp. 319-20.

88. Beveridge reads these two names as Durga Punj and Jihata Rai—*Akbarnama* Vol. III, PP. 933-34. Sir Jadunath suggests that these are Raghubhanja and Chhotarai (*Hist. of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 183).

treacherously sided with the enemy and Mukundadeva himself was besieged in the fort of Kotsima on the Damodar, while the Muslim forces under Bayazid advanced up to Kataka and occupied the strong fort of Barabati in the defence of which the general Koli Samanta Simhara gave his life. It was in the midst of these calamities that Ramachandra Bhanja, the commandant of Sarangagarh - the fort near Kataka - declared himself the King of Orissa and at the news of it Mukundadeva at once marched towards his capital after patching up a truce with Sultan Sulaiman. Ram Chandra Bhanja met him at Gobiratikiri four miles north east of Jajpur and in the skirmish that took place between them, Mukundadeva, the last independent ruler of Orissa fell fighting.⁸⁹ The very same day, the traitor Rama Chandra Bhanja was also defeated and killed by prince Bayazid and thus Orissa passed into the hands of the Afghans in 1568 A. D. The final blow to the crumbling edifice was dealt by one of the generals of Bayazid, the bigoted Kalapahar,⁹⁰ who is remembered in the tradition as a renegade Hindu and has earned the greatest notoriety among all the Muslim invaders of Orissa, as a cruel iconoclast and the desecrator of the temple of Jagannatha.⁹¹ Evidently the fate of Orissa was sealed as a result of the bitter rivalries and factions among the ambitious generals, who failed to combine under a single Chief against the outside invaders, and the religious and cultural movements of the period had absolutely nothing to do with her political undoings.

89. Vide "Notes on Hist. of Orissa" J. A. S. B. 1883.

90. For Kalapahar, See Brigg's Ferishta Vol. I p. 560.; Vol. II, p. 249; Beveridge, *Akbarnama* Vol. III, P. 1154; Elliot and Dowson, *Tarikh-i I'adi*, Vol. IV, pp. 41 and 511; *Tabaqata Akbari* (Asiatic Society publication, Vol. II P. 515.

91. For the activities of Kalapahar in Orissa, See Jaretti, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, P. 128; K. S. Misra '*Barabati Durga*', P. 22; Mahatab, *Hist. of Orissa* (in Oriya), pp. 186-87; O. H. R. J. Vol. I, No. I, pp. 14-19,

CULTURAL RELATIONS OF KALINGA WITH SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON

By Dr. N. K. Sahu, M. A., Ph. D.

Kalinga offers a cultural link between Northern India and the Deccan and plays a significant role in evolving a remarkable synthesis between the culture and civilisation of the north and the south. The present article, however, treats one aspect of this cultural role of Kalinga in depicting her relations only with the South. The scope of the discussion is further limited by the fact that this relationship has been presented through a single cultural medium, i. e. Hinayāna Buddhism.

Since the days of Aśoka Buddhism had a strong foot hold in the south and the *Mahāsaṃghika* school of this religion could command great popularity in that region. The *Mahāsaṃghika Āchārya* Mahādeva preached with great vigour in the Deccan and could influence a large following by his unremitting activities. By the commencement of the Christian century, the various offshoots of this school of Buddhism had established themselves in the Kṣṇā-Godāvarī doab, where they were collectively known as the *Āndhakas*. It appears that the *Mahāsaṃghikas* migrated from Magadha to the Āndhra regions through Kalinga where they also made a few settlements.¹ The earliest historical monuments of the Āndhra country are known to be Buddhist, and places like Amarāvati, Bhāṭṭiprolu, Jaggayvapeṭā, Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa, Ghaṇṭasaila and Goli have yielded precious relics of a glorious Buddhist culture that developed in that country from the 2nd century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D.² In Kalinga region remarkable groups of Buddhist remains are found in Saṅkaram, Rāmātīrtham, Simāchalām, Mukhalingam and Sālibuṇḍam where the rock cut caves, monolithic dagobas structural stūpas and residential buildings reveal a profound Hinayānic culture in course of the early Christian centuries.³ A clay

1. N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, II, P. 61.

2. See, Deva Prasad Ghosh, "Development of Buddhist Art in South India," *I. H. Q.* Vol. III, P. 264-272, 486-507; Vol. IV, PP. 724-740.

See also, K. R. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra*, chapters, I-III.

3. For the Buddhist remains at Saṅkaram and Rāmātīrtham, vide Rea, *Buddhist monasteries on the Gurubhakta Konda and Durga Konda Hills at Rāmātīrtham*, *A. S. I. A. R.* 1910-11, *A Buddhist monastery on the Saṅkaram Hills*, *A. S. I. A. R.* 1907-08. See Deva Prasad Ghosh *I. H. Q.* IV, PP. 734 ff.

seal representing a votive Chaitya of two tiers, discovered at Rāmatīrttham contains an important legend, from which we come to know that the Buddhist community that inhabited there was known as the "*Śāila Saṃgha*"⁴, which is evidently a branch of the *Mahāsaṃghika* school that flourished in the Kriṣṇā. Godāvāri doab much earlier than the 3rd century A. D.

It may be pointed out in this connection that Vasumitra speaks of the *Mahāsaṃghikas* as belonging to three Śāila schools, namely *Chaitya Śāila*, *Apara Śāila* and *Uttara Śāila*, while from the Pāli tradition we get the names of the *Hemavātikas*, *Rājagirikas*, *Siddhanthikas*, *Pubbaseliyas* and *Aparaseliyas*.⁵ A more exhaustive list is, however, obtained from the inscriptions at Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa and Amarāvati (Dharmakāṭaka)⁶ and considering all these evidences, it may be said with great amount of certainty that a few offshoots of the *Mahāsaṃghikas* were commonly known as the *Śāila saṃgha*. Thus, the *Mahāsaṃghikas* who settled in Kalinga may be taken as belonging to the *Śāila saṃgha* and as close associates of the Buddhists of the Āndhra territory.

One of the inscriptions of Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa throws a flood of light on the settlements of the Thera School of monks in various places of India including Kalinga.⁷ This particular record is inscribed in the 14th regnal year of a King Madharīputa, who can not be other than the Ikṣvāku king Śrī Virāpurisadata (3rd cent. A. D.), and belongs to a shrine stated to have been dedicated "for the benefit of the fraternities (of monks) of I-ambapāṃna, who had converted Kāśmīra, Gāndhāra, China, Chīlāta, Tosālī, Avaramāta, Vaṅga, Vnavāsi, Yavana, Pāmīla, Palura, and the Isle of Tāmbapāṃnī." It may be pointed out that the country of Tāmbapāṃna cannot be the same as the island of tām̐bapāṃnī or Ceylon, as in the same record the fraternities of monks of Tāmbapāṃna are stated to have converted the Isle of Tāmbapāṃnī itself. This country may, however, be identified with the valley of the river Tāmraparṇī, that flows through the Tinnevely region of the Deccan.⁸ Thus the Thera school of monks of this part of the Deccan are known from this inscription to have undertaken missionary activities in Tosālī and Palura of Kalinga, along with several other places of India before the 3rd century A. D. Tosālī, as the capital of Kalinga under Aśoka, is well known to us, and it appears to have attained fame and celebrity in the Buddhist world since the time of the *Piyadasi* emperor. The other Buddhist site, Palura, has been identified by Prof. S. Levy, with Dantapura, the city of the tooth, on the ground that 'Pallu', which constitutes the first part of the name, means "a tooth" and 'ur'

4. Rea, A. S. I. A. B. 1907-08.

5. N. R. Futt. Ibid P. 52.

6. The following are the names obtained from the epigraphical evidences,

(I) *Hamghi* (Burgess, P. 105) *Aśīa-haghana* (Ep. Ind. XX. PP. 17, 20)

(II) *Chiatyiki* (Burgess, P. 100, 102) *Chetiavadaka* (Ibid P. 102)

(III) *Aparamahavanaseliya* (Ep. Ind. XX P. 41) *Mahavanaseliyana* (Burgess P. 105)

(IV) *Puvaseo* (Ep. Ind. XX P. 22)

(V) *Rajagirinivasika* (Burgess, P. 53) *Rajasaila* (Ibid. P. 104)

(VI) *Sidhathika* (Ibid. P. 110)

(VII) *Bahusuiya* (Ep. Ind. XX P. 24)

7. Ep. Ind. XX P. 22 ff.

8. See N. R. Ray, *Thoravade Buddhism in Burma*. PP. 17-18.

the other part of it, means "a city."⁹ Palura is, however, known to be an ancient emporium of Kalinga, situated at the mouth of the river *Rṣikulyā*, very close to the port of Ganjām. It was evidently the famous port of Paloura, mentioned by Ptolemy, who selected it as one of the bases for the preparation of his map.¹⁰

In the same Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa inscription we come across another long list of Buddhist importance, where Upāsikā Bodhiśrī dedicated her religious endowment. The illustrious Upāsikā, as recorded in the inscription caused to construct a *Chaitya Grha* in the Kulaba Monastery, a *Boṭhi Vrikha-Prāsāda* in the Ceylon Monastery, an *Apavāraka* in Mahā-Dhamma-Giri, a Maṇḍapa in the Eastern gate way of the *Mahā Chaitya* of Kaṇṭakavala (Śaila), three *apavarakas* at the stūpa of Hirumu, seven *apavarakas* in Papilā and a *Śaila maṇḍapa* in Puspagiri. The location of the last three places of the list may be traced in Kalinga. Hirumu may be identified with the modern Hiramaṇḍalam on the Nāgāvalī river where Buddhist remains are found in plenty.¹¹ The name Hiramaṇḍalam appears to be a corruption of Irāmaṇḍala (the Tamil Illāmaṇḍalam), the ancient name of Ceylon, and it indicates the close relationship of Kalinga with Ceylon. The Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa inscription speaks of the Buddhist Stūpa of this place which was visited by large number of pilgrims, for whom Bodhiśrī constructed three '*apavarakas*'. Papilā, where the same Upāsikā dedicated seven *apavarakas* must have also been another important place of pilgrimage for the Buddhists and it is supposed to be the same as Papiliā near Sitā Vinjhi in Keonjhar district. It may be stated here that Sitā-Vinjhi was a centre of Śaivism as early as the 4th century A. D.,¹² and in that case the Buddhist site may be supposed to have been usurped by the Śaivites, or what is more likely, both these sects might have continued there side by side for some times. Puspagiri (Pupha giri), where Bodhiśrī is credited to have dedicated a *Śaila maṇḍapa*, may be identified with the *Peu-sū-po-ki-li*, which is located by Yuan Chwang in the south west of the Wūta (Odra) country.¹³ It appears to be a very famous Buddhist establishment in ancient Orissa, and the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim clearly indicate that it was a flourishing centre of popular Buddhism in this part of India by the time of his visit.

Cultural intercourse between Kalinga and Ceylon was very intimate and long standing. The Sāmanta Pāsādikā reveals that emperor Aśoka sent as the retinue of the sacred Bodhi tree, eight families of Kalinga to Ceylon who formed the nucleus round which there developed the *Thera* school of Buddhism in that

9. Bagchi *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, pp. 163-75. It may be said that the Telugu word for tooth in the singular is 'Panu', which may be either 'Pallu' or 'Pandlu' in the plural and, as such Palura may not be transliterated as the city of the tooth. (See B. V. Krishna Rao, '*A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*' p. 72, Fn.)

10. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 243. According to this consideration the aphetion or point of departure for ships bound for Khrysē must be located at Gopalpur, just a little below the mouth of the Ganjam. (Gerini, *Ibid*),

11. Vide Ep. Ind. XIV P. 361.

12. T. N. Ramachandran, *Inscriptions from Sitā Vinjhi*, J. A. H. R. S. XIX Prof R. Subba Rao *Sastipurthi* (Number), P. 191 ff. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar the date of the Sitā Vinjhincriptions—may be assigned from the 8th to the 11th Centuris A.D.—I.H.Q. Vol. XXVII, P. 227-28

13. Watters, II, P. 193

island.¹⁴ The ruling dynasties of both these kingdoms developed in course of time close friendship with one another and the Dāthāvamsa speaks eloquently of the friendly relations between king Guhasiva of Kalinga and Mahādiseṇa (277-304 A. D.) of Ceylon. The text further describes in details the event of the coming of the tooth relic from Dantapura in Kalinga to the island of Ceylon, in the 9th regnal year of king Sirimeghavanna (304-335 A. D.), who received with great honour the precious relic brought by Danta Kumāra and his wife Hema mālā, the Kalingan princess¹⁵.

The 4th and the 5th centuries A.D. marked a brilliant epoch in the history of Ceylonese Buddhism and not only that great Vihāras, stūpas and Chaityas were constructed but also valuable works on Buddhist religion and philosophy, as well as, some important chronicles were produced during this period. The Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa composed in C. 350 A.D. and 475 A.D. respectively, are a great source of the history of both India and Ceylon¹⁶. The celebrated Buddhist scholar Buddhaghosha, who lived in the court of king Mahārāma (412-434) composed his well known work *Visuddhimagga* expounding *Sīla*, *Samādhi* *Prajñā*, and wrote important commentaries on the *Tripitakas*, while another Hīnayānic philosopher Buddhacatta produced valuable treatises on *Abhidhamma* and *Vinaya*¹⁷. The influence of these two scholars very soon spread over Burma, Siam and Cambodia and systematised the religion of these places for all time to come.

The name Buddhaghosha has clustered round it a series of legends, and it is at present difficult to say whether he was born in India or Ceylon or in Burma¹⁸. It is, however, true that he was a great cultural link among these three countries, and in India particularly he was intimately associated with the Buddhist culture of Kshikulyā-Godāvarī-Krishnā and Kāverī Valleys, where Hīnayānism got a fresh lease of life owing to his influence.

The rising tide of the Ceylonese Buddhism must have had considerable influence over Orissa as active intercourse of both commercial and cultural nature is known to have existed between the two countries during that period. The *Sihala Vihāra*¹⁹ which had been constructed as early as the 3rd century A.D. somewhere in the Krishnā-Godāvarī doab and the famous Mahābodhi Samghārāma²⁰ erected at Bodhi Gayā by king Sirimeghavanna (304-332 A.D.) became the centres of Ceylonese culture, and large number of devoted pilgrims from Ceylon used to come over India for visiting these places. Kalinga, situated in between these Ceylonese strongholds, afforded the only possible highroads to these travellers, while her great ports were invariably used by them both for landing

14. *Samanta Pasadika* I, 96

15. B. C. Law, *Datha Vamsa*.

16. See "New Hist. of the Indian People" "Vol. VI, P. 382.

17. Some of the works of Buddhacatta are *Abhidhamma-Vatara*, *Ruparupavibhaga*, and *Vinayaavinichchaya*.

18. For the accounts and legends of Buddhaghosha see Dr. N. R. Ray, *Theravada Buddhism in Burma*, PP. 24-33; see also the legend of Buddhaghosha translated from the French by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Cal. Rev. 1923, PP. 63-67.

19. Ep. ind. XX. P. 22.

20. Barua, *Gaya and Buddhagaya*, I, P. 170 ff,

and embarkation. Mention may here be made of three distinguished pilgrims from Ceylon; Silakala, who came with his kinsman Moggallāna during the reign of Kassapa I (460 - 78 A. D.) and returned with a hair relic; Mahānāma, who probably came during the rule of Aggabodhi I (568—601 A.D.) and donated a small shrine of the Buddha; and Sramana Prakhyāta Kīrti belonging to the royal family of Ceylon, who had his visit recorded in an undated inscription at Bodhgayā, all of them came and went back through the ports of Kalinga, inspiring her people with the Theravāda traditions.²¹ The most popular sea route, frequently used by the traders and pilgrims alike was from Tāmraparnī to Tamralipti and thence to Pātaliputra which was also linked through water ways. The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien is known to have made boat journey from Pātaliputra to Tāmralipti and from the latter place a ship voyage to Ceylon.²² The famous port of Che-li-ta-lo in the Wūta (Udra) country was also having active maritime intercourse with Ceylon and standing on its shore Yuan—Chwang could think of the Tooth relic of the Buddha preserved in that distant island.²³

People from Kalinga and the Wūta country also used to flock in Ceylon to pay honour to the sacred Tooth and to visit the monastic institutions of that island. The *Chulavamsa* records that during the reign of Aggabodhi II (610-11 A. D.) the king of Kalinga accompanied by his wife and the minister came to Ceylon, where he entered into the order of the recluse under the direction of Jotipāla²⁴. We know from the same source that king Vijayabāhu I married Tiloka Sundari the daughter of the king of Kalinga,²⁵ an event which also finds mention in an inscription of West Bengal, in which the Kalinga king is named Samalavarman.²⁶ The *Chulavamsa* further informs us that scions of royal house of Kalinga attained in subsequent period the sovereignty of Ceylon,²⁷ and epigraphical evidences point out the fact that Nissāṅkamalla and Sābasamalla, the sons of Goparāja, the king of Kalinga ascended the throne of Ceylon sometimes before 1200 A. D.²⁸

The effect of these relationships between the royal families of Kalinga and Ceylon, must have been considerable in the socio—religious life of these two territories. The cultural bond between them appears to be Buddhistic and more particularly Hinayānic, and this system of Buddhism is known to have a remarkable predominance in Kalinga as late as the 7th century A. D.

21. Block, A. S. R., 1908—9, IV, P. 156. Panday, J. B. O. R. S. IV, P. 485 ff; Barua, *Gaya and Buddhagaya*, II. P. 71 ff.

22. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, I, P IV. ff.

23. Watters, II P. 194.

24. Geiger, *Chulavamsa*, XLII. 41 ff.

25. *Chulavamsa* LIX. 29—30

26. Ray D. H. N. I. Vol I.

27. *Chulavamsa*, L XIIi 7, 12, ff.

28. Ep. Ind. XII, P. 4.

NOTICES OF PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS.
ŚĀRADĀŚARADARCHANA PADDHATI
 of
MANTRIVARA GADĀVARA MAHĀPĀTRA
 By Sri K. N. Mahapatra.

There are two palm-leaf manuscripts of the unpublished and as yet unnoticed work named Śāradāśaradarchana Paddhati (1)* by Mantrivara Gadāvara Mahāpātra in the manuscript collection of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Of these two, one was procured from Sri Brundabana Tripathy of the old Bhubaneswar town, while the other was acquired by the museum recently from Sri Narasingha Misra of Gula Manatri under P. S. Begunia in the district of Puri. The first manuscript called A. contains 117 folios (13"×1.3") out of which in 93 folios the complete work of S. S. P. has been written, while the remaining folios contain Vishnuśaṣṭanāma and other topics. The ms A is in a good state of preservation and has on the average four lines of writing in old Oriya characters on each side of each folio, written clearly and legibly.

The second manuscript called B contains 44 folios (13"×1.2") and the complete text of S. S. P. is written on 43 folios, while on both sides of the last or the 44th folio, Sūryārghyabidhi has been written. It was not properly preserved for which some portion of it has been worm-eaten and a few leaves have been broken. It is also written in old Oriya characters, the type being somewhat smaller and has got on the average five lines of writing on both sides of each folio.

Both the manuscripts do not contain the names of the copyist and the date of copying in the Aṅka years of the rulers of Orissa, as is usually found in the manuscripts discovered throughout Orissa, because the last few leaves in both are missing.

But the dates of their copying may be ascertained tentatively with the help of the year in the Kaliyuga era mentioned in the Saṅkalapa Vākya in the body of the text of S. S. P.

Manuscript (A) :—

कलेः भयत्रयधिकाष्टशतोत्तर चतुःसहस्र परिमितेर्द्दे × × (Folio 6)

Manuscript (B) :—

कलेः षष्ठ्यधिक सप्तशतोत्तरचतुःसहस्र परिमितेर्द्दे वर्तमानव्यावहारिक मम्बत्सरे
 × × (Folio 4)

(1)* Śaradasaradarchana Paddhati is abbreviated as S. S. P.

From the above two quotations it may be concluded that Manuscript A was copied some time in the Kaliyuga year bhaya (7), tri (3), increased by 4800 or 4837 which is 1736 A. D. and the manuscript B was copied in Kaliyuga year 4760 or 1659 A. D. But the conclusion can not be taken as definite as these two might be true copies of some other manuscripts written in the above two Kaliyuga years.

The Author of S. S. P :—

Some information about the author of S. S. P is obtained from the three verses after the Maṅgalācharaṇa, which are quoted below.

गुरुं गणपतिं नत्वा संहिताद्युक्तं सत् क्रमात्
क्रियते शारदायाश्च शरदर्चनपद्धतिः ।१।
देबालिमौलिनीलाश्मरश्मिभृङ्गकुलाकुले
देवि त्वच्चरणाम्भोजे रमतां मामकं मनः ।२।
राजकौत्ससवशभूषणमणिं नानागुणिग्रामणीं
कुशानार्णवतारणैकतरणिं शिष्योद्यच्छिन्तामणिं
सद्विद्याविपणिं सुबोधसरणिं विप्राग्रणीं नौम्यहं
तात श्री वलभद्रसंज्ञ ममलां तां अन्नपूर्णां प्रसू ।३।
आलोच्य वाक्यानि सदादृतानि तत्तत् पुराणप्रतिपादितानि
गोदावरः मन्त्रिवरस्तनोति क्रमं शिवायाः शरदर्चनस्य ।४।

In the manuscript 'B' the first verse is not found but the absence of this verse does not affect the sense or significance of the other three verses in any way.

The work is not divided into different sections or chapters but is a continuous whole, the last verse and colophon of which run as follows.

नानापुराण वचनानि मिथो विरद्धा
स्थानीय तानि गुणमुख्यतया विचार्य
निर्माय शिष्टमतसंस्कृतपद्धतिं तु
गोदावरोऽर्पयति पादतले शिवायाः ॥

इति श्री गोदावर महापात्र विरचिता दुर्गाशरदुत्सवपूजाक्रमसंस्कृतपद्धतिः समाप्ता ।

From the verses quoted above it is clear that Godāvara Mahāpātra, the author of S. S. P. was the son of a great scholar named Balabhadra who was born in the famous Koutsa family, and his mother's name was Annapūrnā. He was a great devotee of Ambikā or Durgā and the prime minister of a certain king.

Identification of Godāvara

Mantrivara Godāvara Mahāpātra, the author of S. S. P can be safely identified with the 'कविपुङ्गव पण्डितराज' Godāvara Mīśra, the Rājaguru of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva of Orissa (1497—1530 A. D.); whose work

'Yogachintāmaṇi' was first brought to the notice of the learned society by the eminent scholar Sri P. K. Gode.² In the Yogachintāmaṇi Godāvara pays his respects to his father Balabhadra at the commencement of the work as he does in his S. S. P.

गोदावतारं बलभद्रं यजं

विद्यागुरुं तं जनकं नमामि (verse 2)

He also calls himself the son of Balabhadra in the last verse of his work Yogachintāmaṇi.

गोदावरेण परमां रेण योग-

चिन्तामणिबिरचितो बलभद्रजेन ।

Godāvara, author of S. S. P. can also be identified with Godāvara, the author of Harihara Chaturāṅga³, who also calls himself 'Kavipuṅgava' Pandita Rāia 'ājaguru' and 'Mantrivara' of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva in the colophon at the end of each Parichhedha or section. The only discrepancy which deserves discussion here is that the family surname of Godāvara, author of Yogachintāmaṇi and Harihara Chaturāṅga is Miśra, while that of Godāvara, author of S. S. P. is Mahāpātra. But his family surname Miśra was given up by the author when the title of Mahāpātra was conferred upon him by his patron, Pratāparudra Deva, and his descendants bore the title of Mahāpātra which is known from a deed of partition executed in the 3rd Aṅka of Gajapati Mukuṇḍa Deva in 1561 A. D. by his five sons named below.

(1) Mārkaṇḍeya Mahāpātra. (2) Raghunāth Mahāpātra. (3) Narasiṅgha Mahāpātra (4) Dhani Mahāpātra. (5) G. viṇḍa Mahāpātra.

Another work named Jayachintāmaṇi by Godāvara Miśra has been noticed by Prof. Shridhar Das⁴ of the Christ College, Cuttack. In this we find the same colophon, at the end of the twenty Kiraṇas as is found in Harihara Chaturāṅga, but with an additional epithet eg 'गोदावरी बद्धन' before his name, not found in his other works, the significance of which is discussed later on. Thus Godāvara Mahāpātra author of S. S. P. is no other than Godāvara Miśra, author of Yogachintāmaṇi, Harihara Chaturāṅga, and Jayachintāmaṇi.

The family of Godāvara :—

A lot of information about the family of Godāvara is obtained from the first volume of Nityāchāra Pradīpa⁵ by Narasiṅgha Miśra Vājapeyi, a greatest Smṛti writer of Orissa, who was the grandson of the cousin brother of Godāvara and adorned the court of Gajapati Mukuṇḍa Deva (1558-1568) the last independent Hindu Emperor of Orissa⁶.

The genealogical table of the family of Godāvara so far known is given below.

(2) The Poona Orientalist, Vol. IX Nos. 1 & 2, pages 11-19; 1944.

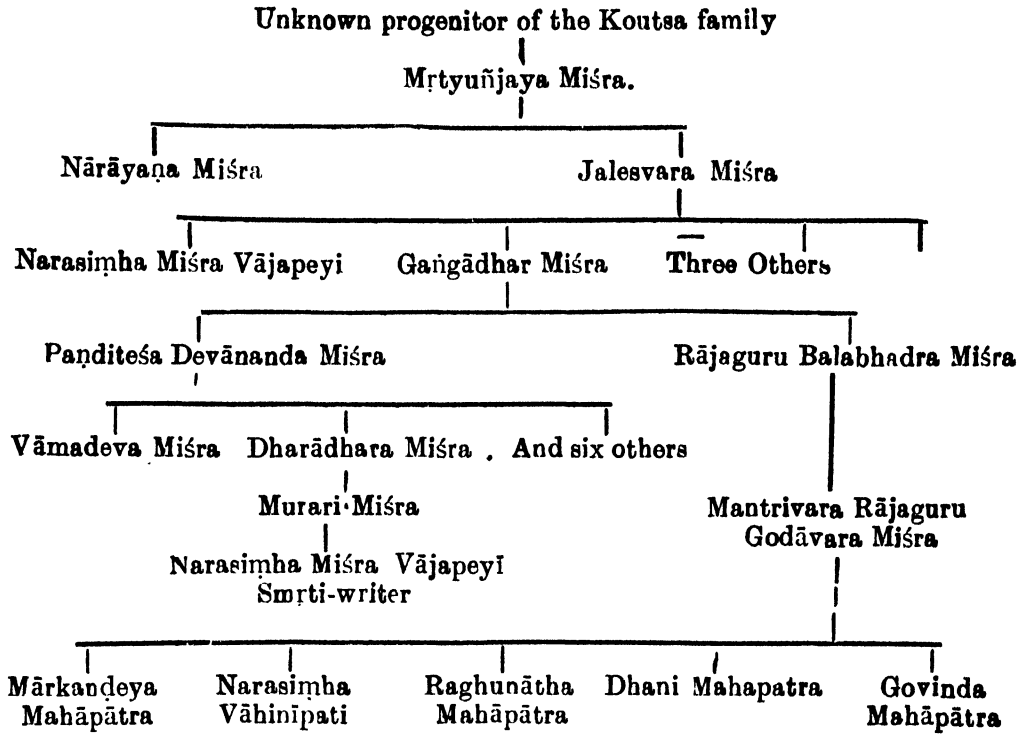
(3) This book has been published as Madras Government Oriental Series Vol. XVII. in 1950.

(4) The Chaturanga :- Oriya monthly magazine Vol. I. No. 7, pp. 604-606.

(5) Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1930.

(6) Some forgotten Smṛti-writers of Orissa.

(2) Narasiṅgha Vājapeyi. O. H. R. J. Vol. II, No. 1, pp 1-16, 1953.



The following remark made by Sri Gode about Godāvara and his family, viz. "Judging, however, by the names of the above works we are justified in supposing that the family of this royal preceptor or राजगुरु of गजपति प्रतापरुद्रदेव was a very learned one and hence must have been respected and honoured at the court of Pratāparudra Deva some generations earlier than our author, who was himself a highly honoured राजगुरु as his titles कवि पुङ्गव, पण्डित राज and वाजपेययाजी amply indicate in the colophons before us" will be proved to be quite appropriate and correct by the facts stated below..

(1) An unknown ancestor of Mr̥tyuñjaya wrote सत् समय a work on Dharmaśāstra.

(2) Mr̥tyuñjaya Miśra of the Koutsa family, who was Mīmāṃsārnava-Karṇadhāra wrote 'Suddhi Muktāvalī', a work on Dharmaśāstra.

(3) Nārāyaṇa Miśra, who was a prodigy of learning wrote two commentaries on the two Mīmāṃsās the names of which are not yet known before he died at the age of sixteen.

(4) Agñichit Jaleśvara Miśra Vājapeyi was a master of six darśanas (षडदर्शनी यस्यकुलेऽचलासीत्) and wrote a Smṛiti work named 'Jaleśvara Paddhati' which was very popular in Orissa and has been referred to by W. W. Hunter.⁸

7) The Poona *Orientalist* Vol. IX, pp. 11-19.

8) Hunter's *Orissa* Vol. II, Appendix IX p. 210.

(5) *Narasimha Misra Vājapeyī*, who was a profound scholar, revived the 'Advaitavāda' of Śrī Śaṅkara in Utkala by his efforts and wrote 'संक्षेप शारीरक वात्तिक' a commentary on Saṃkṣhepa Śāriraka of Śaṅkarāchārya, which is referred to by his grandson Godāvara Miśra in his *Yoga Chintāmaṇi*. e.g., पितामह चरणः संक्षेप शारीरक वात्तिके (fol. 131). He spent some part of his life at Kāśī, where he practiced austerities and obtained siddhi in Yoga. He wrote Kāśī-Mimāṃsā most probably while he was living at Kāśī, which is also alluded to by Godāvara in the same *Yogachintāmaṇi*. eg. काशीमीमांसायां पितामह चरणाः (fol. 49). From another work named 'Simha Vājapeyī Vamsāvalī' it is known that he was appointed as a justice by the celebrated Gajapati Kapileśvar Deva of Orissa (1435-1453). This incident brought this family of scholars into prominence in the field of administration of the state of Orissa which lasted for more than a century. It is not known from any other source, what other works besides the two stated above were written by him.

(6) *Gaṅgādhar Misra*—He was a younger brother of *Narasimha Miśra*. He wrote a work on smṛti a few folios of which have been discovered by me.

(7) *Rājaguru Balabhadra Miśra*—He was the son of *Narasimha* by his second wife and became the Rājaguru of Pratāparudra and most probably his father Purushottama Deva (1465-1496 A. D.), as his elder step-brother Devānānda Miśra Chayanī, migrated to the south Ganjam, where he probably got the patronage of the Gaṅga chieftains of the Khemandi Kingdom. Balabhadra was proficient in the Bhaṭṭatantra's sacrificial lore and performed Pounḍarika sacrifice (पौण्डरिक याजी). In *Yogachintāmaṇi* Godāvara refers to two works of his father Balabhadra, namely 'Advaitachintāmaṇi' and 'Śārirakasāra Purushottama Stuti'. eg. पितृचरणः अद्वैत चिन्तामणीः (Folio. 131) and शारीरकसार-पुरुषोत्तमस्तुती पितृचरणः Fol. 50). It is not known what other works he wrote. But there is a work on Smṛti named 'Balabhadra Saṃgraha', which might have been written by him.

He is mentioned in a verse quoted below of the 'Tirtha Ratnākara' compiled by Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, a famous paṇḍita of Kāśī, who lived in the court of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva of Orissa.

गजपति सदसि × सा पदवी बलभद्र.राजगुरोः।
 पण्डितशिरोमणिरिति प्रतापमार्तण्डनिर्माणात्
 सोऽयं निबन्धानालोच्य पुराणानिचयस्ततः
 रामप्रसादात् कुरुते कृती तीर्थनिरूपणं । (10)

Ramakṛṣṇa compiled 'Pratāpamārtaṇḍa' a work on Dharmasāstra under the patronage of Pratāparudra Deva, and attributed its authorship to his patron, for which he was honoured with the title of पण्डित शिरोमणि by Balabhadra, the Rājaguru of the Gajapati, who was perhaps entrusted with the work of assessing the merit of this treatise.

(9) Published by Pandit Sri S. N. Rajaguru in the now-defunct Oriya monthly magazine 'The Sahakara'. Vol. 15. Pt. 7 Page 615-625.

(10) *Des Out of Sans Mes*, Vol. III, Smṛti Manuscripts, by H. P. Shastri.

From an Oriya book named 'Vedānta-āra Guptagītā' written by the Vaishṇava poet Balarāma Dās it is known that Balabhadra Rajaguru examined the poet in Vedānta in the 17th *anka* of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva in the Muktimāṇḍapasabha at Puri.¹² The 17th *Aṅka* of Pratāparudra fell in 1510 A. D. By this dated work it is proved that Balabhadra continued to be the Rajaguru of the Emperor till that date.

Mantrivara Rajaguru Godāvara Mīśra :—

From the account of the family of Godāvara given above, it is clear that his fore fathers were renowned for their vast learning and scholarship for which they were respected and honoured in the Gajapati court at least from the time of Kapileśvara Deva, the Sūryavamsī monarch of Orissa (1435-1466). His family played an important part in the development of the Dharmaśāstra literature, revival of the sacrificial rituals and popularising the doctrine of Advaitavāda of Śrī Saṅkara in Utkala.

Godāvara who was a versatile scholar not only maintained the glorious tradition of his family, but contributed more than his fore-fathers to the field of Sanskrit literature. It is not known when he was born. But according to tradition current among his descendants he accompanied Gajapati Purushottama Deva in his expedition to Kāñchi and the soldiers of the ruler of Kāñchi who pursued the victorious army of the Gajapati, became unable to cross the Godāvari river as a heavy flood was caused in that by the miraculous power of Godāvara who sat in deep meditation on its bank. Consequently the army of Kāñchi had to return in disappointment and the Gajapati being immensely pleased at this conferred on him the title of 'गोदावरी वर्द्धन'. This title has actually been used by Godāvara in the colophon at the end of each *kirana* of his work '*Jayachintamani*' referred to before. If this family tradition is taken to be true, he might have been thirty-five to forty years old when Pratāparudra ascended the throne at Cuttack in 1497. A. D.

It is known from '*Tirtha Ratnakara*' and '*Vedantasara Guptagita*' noted above that Balabhadra continued to be the Rājaguru of Pratāparudra till 1510 A. D. In that case Godāvara succeeded his father as the Rājaguru of the king some time after that date. By dint of his vast learning, uncommon talent, and miraculous power as a Tantric, he rose to the position of a minister of Pratāparudra, but the exact date of his promotion to this much-coveted post of dignity and power can not be ascertained in the present state of our knowledge. His designation 'मन्त्रीवर' is not found in the colophon of '*Yogachintamani*' but is found in that of other works like '*Harihara Chaturanga*', '*Jayachintamani*', and S. S. P., whereas the title of 'Rajaguru' is found in the first three works, which corroborates the fact that he remained simply '*Rajaguru*' for some years before he became 'मन्त्रीवर'.

It has been stated before that his family played an important part in reviving the Vedic sacrifices in Orissa. Devānanda the uncle of Godāvara performed *Chayama* sacrifice, whereas his father Balabhadra has been called 'पोण्डरीक यज्ञा' or performer of the *Poundarika* sacrifice, Godāvara has called himself वाजपेययाजी in his '*Hariharchaturanga*' and '*Yogachintamani*' but in the colophon of '*Jayachintamani*', the following

(11) Des cat of Sans Mss, Vol. III. Smrit Manuscripts by H. P. Shastri
page 720. Nos. 2688 & 2689.
(12) *Oriya Sahityar pariaheyai*:—by Pandit Sri S. N. Das. Vol. I, p. 219.

epithets, viz. बाजपेययाजी, शरतपुण्डरीकयाजी, सर्वतोमुखयाजी, साम्बत्सरिकयाजी' are found before his name, which prove that he was the performer of *Vājapeya* *Saratpundarika* and *Sarbatomukha* sacrifices. In spite of this Godāvara and some of his ancestors were followers of Tantric faith and he excelled them all in this respect.

The works of Godāvara

Information about some of the works of Godāvara is obtained as they have been referred to at different verses of the text of *Harihara Chaturanga* which are quoted below.

I. Tantra Chintāmaṇi.

- (a) तन्त्रचिन्तामणीं तच्च प्रोक्तं शालादिलक्षणं
अस्मत्कृते वेदितव्यं तस्मादत्र न कथ्यते (13)
- (b) तन्त्रचिन्तामणीं यन्त्र मणि मन्त्रौषधादिकं
अस्मत्कृते तु द्रष्टव्यं मभियुक्तेन तत्रच (14)

II. Yoga Chintāmaṇi :—

योगचिमणावुत्कं बिशेषेण तु लक्षणं
अस्माभिः पूरकादीनां तस्मादत्र न कथ्यते (15)

III. Advaita Darpaṇa :—

- (a) यस्तर्केणानुसन्धत्ते बिचारे कुशलो हि सः
अस्मत्कृते तत्कर्तव्यः श्रमोबैद्यैर्ददर्पणे (16)
- (b) ब्रह्मविद्याभिकारित्वं राज्ञा मद्यैतदर्पणं
प्रतिपादितमस्माभिः स्तस्मानेह प्रशस्यते (17)

IV. Adhikaraṇa Darpaṇa :—

अस्मत्कृतेऽधिकरणदर्पणे समुदाहृतः
अङ्गाङ्गिनो बिचारोऽयं नेहतस्मात् प्रतन्यते (18)

V. Nīti Chintāmaṇi :—

नीतिचिन्तामणावुत्कं भानुमण्डलभेदिनः
फलसमग्रतोऽस्माभिः ज्ञातव्यं तत्र पण्डितैः (19)

13.	Harihara Chaturanga.	Page 159.	Verse 179.
14.	Ibid	do 221.	do 59
15.	Ibid	do 169.	do 303.
16.	Ibid	do 178.	do 22
17.	Ibid	do 216.	do 502
18.	Ibid	do 196.	do 243
19.	Ibid	do 219.	do 27

VI. Nīti-Kalpalatā :—

अवशिष्टं तु यन्नोक्तं नीतिशास्त्रोक्तमन्त्रतः
अस्मत्कृते तु ज्ञातव्यं नीतिकल्पलताभिधे (20)

VII. Āchāra Chintāmaṇi :—

आचार चिन्तामणिना चारोऽस्माभिः प्रपन्चितः
नृपतीनां यतस्तस्मादत्र ग्रन्थेन कथ्यते (21)

VIII. Jayachintāmaṇi :—

ययाज्जयाय नृपतिः ज्ञात्वैतानि विशेषतः
जयचिन्तामणौ सर्वं सप्रपन्च मुदोरितं (22)

From the verses quoted above it can definitely be said that Godāvara had compiled 8 works like Tantra Chintāmaṇi and others before he wrote *Harihara Chaturanga*. In this work he has referred to two other works, eg. सामुद्रिक कामधेनु and पातञ्जलि दीपिका in such a manner which indicates that they might also have been written by him.

IX. Sāmudrika Kāmādhenu :—

सामुद्रिकं तद् विज्ञेय मन्यसाधारणं च तत्
सामुद्रिक कामधेनुवृत्त मित्यत्र नोच्यते (20)

X. Pātāñjali Dīpikā :—

प्रकृत्यधिष्ठितो भोक्ता भोक्ता भवनि पुरुषः
पातञ्जलिदीपिकायां बहुधा स्फारितं तुतत् (23-A)

Of course neither of the two terms अस्मत्कृते nor अस्माभिः has been used in the above two verses, which may cause some doubt about his authorship of the two works. But in this connection it may be noted that in the verse regarding *Jayachintāmaṇi* quoted above neither of the two terms occur. But it is definitely known that *Jayachintāmaṇi* was written by him. Like-wise the authorship of these two works may be ascribed to Godāvara, until the contrary is proved. Thus he had written the following ten works before he finished his *Harihara Chaturāṅga*.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Tantra Chintāmaṇi. | 6. Nīti Kalpalatā. |
| 2. Yoga Chintāmaṇi. | 7. Āchāra Chintāmaṇi. |
| 3. Advaita Darpaṇa. | 8. Sāmudrika Kāmādhenu. |
| 4. Adhikarāṇa Darapaṇa. | 9. Jaya Chintāmaṇi. |
| 5. Nīti Chintāmaṇi. | 10. Pātāñjali Dīpika. |

20. Harihara Chaturanga.	Page 216	Verse 500.
21. Ibid	do 216	do 502
22. Ibid	do 219	do 407
23. Ibid	do 143	do 183
23-A Ibid	do 195	do 231

His S. S. P. is posterior to *Harihara Chaturanga* as in it we find the new surname Mahāpatrā, instead of his hereditary family surname Mīśra, used in his *Harihara Chaturanga* and other works written prior to it. Thus Godāvara was the author of at least twelve works. He might have written some others, but it is not possible to say anything about them at the present state of our knowledge.

Of these twelve works only one namely *Patanjali Dipika* is a commentary on the Yogaśāstra of Patanjali, while others were independent compilations on different subjects like, *Tantra*, *Yoga*, *Acharya*, *Niti* (2 works), *Advaitavada* of Śrī Sankara, *Durgapuja*, Science of palmistry, rules for warfare and array of troops, and methods of gaining victory in war. Mastery in these diverse branches of study bear ample evidence to his versatile scholarship and vast learning which won for him the titles of कविपुङ्गव and पण्डितराज from his royal patron. Only two of his works namely *Yogachintāmaṇi* and *Jayachintāmaṇi* have been noticed by Sri P. K. Gode and Professor Sridhara Das respectively. In his article on *Yogachintāmaṇi* Sri Gode gave some useful information about *Harihara Chaturanga* which is now available for study by scholars, having been printed and published by the Government of Madras. *Jayachintāmaṇi* noticed in the Oriya monthly 'The Jhankar' (24) is divided into twenty kīraṇas or chapters and the colophon at the end of each kīraṇa has got these additional epithets viz. शरत् पुण्डरिकयाजी, सर्वतोमुखयाजी, साम्बतरिकयाजी and गोदावरीवर्द्धन before the name of Godāvara over and above those found in that at the end of each parichol heda of the published *Hariharachaturāṅga*, the significance of which has been discussed before. The *Mangalacharana* of this work does not contain any new information. As I have not got a chance to examine its manuscript, it is not possible to state, to which previous authors or works Godavara has referred in this work.

Notice of S. S. P.:—

The first thing which deserves mention here is the absence of the lon-colophon इति श्रीमन् महाराजाधिराज...गोदावरमिश्र found in *Yogachintāmaṇi*, *Jayachintāmaṇi* and *Hariharachaturāṅga* in this S. S. P. This might indicate that the author who wrote this work at his old age did not like to blow his own trumpet out of humility born of age and the spirit of dedication to the will of Durgā, the Goddess of his devotion.

The second point worth mentioning here is that Godāvara became more a Śākta than a Smārta with the advance of age. In the first benedictory verse of *Yogachintāmaṇi* written in his younger days the author pays his respects to Nīlādrinātha or Jagannātha at Puri,

चक्रायुधं सिद्धमुनीन्द्रबन्धं
नीलाद्रिनाथं करुणासमुद्रं
पीताम्बरं पद्मविशालनेत्रं
श्री शारदानाथमहं नमामि ।

In his *Hariharachaturāṅga* written when he was grown up in age, the author after offering his prayer in the first two benedictory verses to Ganeśa and Harihara in the conventional manner states in the third verse that this work was written through the grace of Goddess Durgā.

श्री दुर्गाचरणाम्भोज चन्दव चन्दनविन्दुना
कृति गोदावरेणेयं तत्प्रसादात् विरच्यते ।

The last verse of this work quoted below breathes the same spirit of dedication of the author at the feet of Durgā.

यत्प्रसादादिमां चक्रे धीरगोदावरः कृतिं
श्रीदुर्गाचरणाम्भोजे तस्मिन्नेतां समर्पये ।

It is known from 16 verses of the first section of the *Nityachara Pradipa*²⁵ of Narasimha Vajapeyi, that the fore-fathers of Godāvara beginning from his remote ancestor Mrtyujñaya, were devotees of either Kṛṣṇa or Narasimha. Godavara was also a devotee of Jagannātha in his younger days as shown before but gradually became a Śākta or devotee of Durgā in the latter part of his life.

The cause of this change of faith of Godāvara might be due to the popularity of Durgāpūjā which had been steadily gaining prominence as the greatest national festival of Orissa during the time of the later imperial Gaṅgas. In an inscription in the Śikhareśvara temple on the Kapilasa mountain in the Dhenkanal district, Gaṅga king Pratāpa Narasimha Deva calls himself दुर्गापुत्र अपि पुरषोत्तम पुत्रः (26). Sarala Das the famous Oriya poet of the time of Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva (1435-1465 A.D.) who was a great Śākta has sung the praise of Durgā, Sārālā Chandī and other Śākta deities in glowing terms in his *Mahabharata*, the *Chandipurana* and the *Vilanka Ramayana*. The writings of Sārālā Das, which were and are very popular in Orissa even to-day contributed a lot towards the revival of Śakti-worship in Orissa.

Gajapati Purushottama Deva, (1466-1496) is known to have Śākta leanings and wrote a work on Durgapūjā; namely; Durgotsava, which has been referred to by H. P. Shastri.²⁷ The copper plate grant of Purushottama Deva to Poteswara Bhaṭṭa dated 1471 A.D. begins with salutation to JayaDurga viz. श्री जयदुर्गायै नमः (28). In another inscription of the same ruler, found at Bezwada it is stated that he was blessed with the son named Prataparudra, through the grace of Durga, दुर्गावर पुत्र (29). The steadily increasing popularity of the worship Durgā in this age, who could vie with Jagannātha, the supreme deity of Orissa, made deep impression on the mind of Godāvara, who became a Śākta.

(25). Vide my article on Narasimha Vajapeyi published in *O. H. R. J.* vol. II. No. I. pp. 1-16.

(26) This unpublished inscription has been referred to by Pandit N. N. Mahapatra in his article on *Sahitya Darpana*; *Utkal Sahitya* Vol. 44. No. 4. 1338 Sal.

(27) *Des Cat of Sans Manuscripts* by H. P. Shastri Vol III. Smṛti Manuscripts Preface LXIII.

(28) *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. IV. Page 363.

(29) Mahatab. *History of Orissa* (Oriya)

Works referred to in S. S. P:—

Godavara wrote his S. S. P, in order to rectify the defects that had crept into the procedure of worship of Durgā, before his days (निर्मयशिष्टमत-संस्कृतपद्धतितु, गोदावरोऽप्ययति पादतलेशिवायाः) He has referred to the following works at different places of the text of S.S.P.

1. Isānasamhitā (Folios. 2.4.)
2. Bhabishyottara (-do- 5.6, 62.)
3. Durgā Kalpa (-do . 55)
4. Kalikā Purāṇa (-do- 58)
5. Gūhya (.do- 59)
6. Śāsvata Samhita. (Folio. 75)
7. One Paddhati (केचित् पद्धतौ) (Folio. 55)

But the largest number of quotations are made from a work named 'Durgotsava' (Folios 29. 31. 42. 48. 54 79) which indicates that this was being regarded as a standard work on Durgapūjā in his days. Though the name of the author of 'Durgotsava' is not any where mentioned in S S. P. it may safely be conjectured that it was the work of Gajapati Purushottama Deva, as he is reputed to have written a work bearing that name.

Godāvara who could quote from 47 works in his Yogachintāmani, referred to only eight works in S.S.P, from which it may be concluded that the number of works on Durgapūjā was not much before his days. As such the importance of S. S. P, an authority on Durgāpūjā, the greatest national festival of Orissa can be easily established. The world of scholars will be much benefited if this work is published by any learned society or Government like the Hariharachaturaṅga of the same author.

HISTORY OF CUTTACK.

By

Prof. G. S. Das, B. A. Hons. (London)

Like Rome, Cuttack also was not built in a day. History has recorded on the past of this ancient city the stories of the rise and fall of several empires and dynasties. Although its roots do not go into the dim and distant past, it still can rank as one of the old cities of India with her effectful life spread over the last one thousand years. Its age is writ large on its face. The ruins and debris of old structures, the narrow lanes and the historic temples, mosques, churches and other monuments fill the city with the atmosphere of the medieval age. However, it is not merely a city with a history, it has a living present and a still more glorious future.

Cuttack, the metropolis of Orissa, is situated at the bifurcation of the Mahanadi and its main branch the Katjori. It is located in lat. N. 20° 29' and long. E. 85° 50' and has an area of about sixteen square miles. The rivers Mahanadi and Katjori form an extensive delta of which the Bay of Bengal serves as the base and Cuttack as the apex. The town is also surrounded on three sides of its horizon - north, west, and south - by forest clad hills and thus, the geographical location of it is unique in the whole of India. This city, as the Nagari plates of Ananga Bhima the third (1211-1238 A. D.) record, was originally known as "Abhinava-Baranasi-Kataka". Just as the city of Baranasi is situated between the rivers Barna and Asi, similarly Cuttack is situated between the rivers Mahanadi and Katjori and was therefore named as "Abhinava Baranasi"¹. The word "Kataka" etymologically means army cantonment, and also capital city. The History of Cuttack amply justifies its name. It started as a military cantonment because of its impregnable situation and then developed as the capital of the State of Orissa. As Calcutta grew out of three villages Govindpur, Sutanati and Kalikata, Cuttack also developed into a City out of five villages existing in this area at a distance from one another.²

This Abhinava (new) Baranasi may be an imitation of Baranasi of U. P. or of the Ganjam district near Parlakimedi.

It is probably because of this that Cuttack is sometimes known as "Pancha Kataka". The word "Pancha Kataka" may also mean five different Katakas (Cantonments) viz. Chaudwar Kataka, Baranasi Kataka, Sarangagada Kataka, Kasiagada Kataka and Amaravati Kataka.

From remote[†] Cuttack commanded the high road running from the north to the South of India along the eastern coast, and invaders, pilgrims, merchants and travellers alike had in the past no alternative but to cross the Mahanadi and the Katjori near about Cuttack while travelling from north to the south and vice-versa. The high roads from central India also ran along the Mahanadi valley and terminated at Cuttack, while the Mahanadi herself offered convenient waterway for commerce and communication with the hinter land. Cuttack is likely to have been connected both by overland routes and water ways with the great medieval ports like Che-li ta lo,³ Palura⁴ and Tamralipti,⁵ which were great centres for oversea trade and served as the gateway for the spread of Indian culture abroad. Cuttack therefore, could maintain its cultural and commercial relations not only with all parts of India, but also with the outside world. Such a place was naturally suited to be the capital of a prosperous state, and was sure to be the centre of trade and commerce in the past. In fact, Cuttack has been a flourishing mart of eastern trade since the remote past although its political importance before the 8th century A. D. is not so well-known at present.

Historical evidences are absolutely lacking as to the foundation of Cuttack. Madala Panji, the Jagannath temple-Chronicle, throws some light on this problem, but its accounts are based more on tradition than on historical facts. Stirling had to rely upon this dubious authority while writing the accounts of Cuttack early in 1822. He thus states "Raja Nirupa Kesari, a martial and ambitious prince, who was always fighting with his neighbours, is said to have first planted a city on site of the modern Cuttack, about A. D. 989. The reign of Markat Kesari was distinguished for the construction of a stone revetment, or embankment faced with that material (probably the ancient one, of which the remains are yet to be seen to protect the new Capital from inundation in A. D. 1006".⁶ For confirmation of his views, the same scholar states elsewhere as follows—"Authorities vary as to the date of the foundation of Katak Baranasi, but there seems good reason to think that it became a capital city as early as the end of the 10th century, during the reign of Kesari princes."⁷

The early History of Cuttack is, therefore, connected with the history of the Kesari dynasty of Orissa, of whom very little was known at the time when Stirling wrote his accounts. He writes—"No information whatever, is afforded as to the origin and pedigree of the Princes called the Keshari Van-ha or Kesari Bansha. The founder of the new dynasty was Jajati (Yajati) Kesari, a war like and energetic prince, but who he was or whence he came, we are not apprised. He soon cleared his dominions of the Javanas who then retired to their own country. His Court was held at Jajapur where he built a palace

3. Che-li-ta-lo—an ancient port in the Orissan coast mentioned by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang in the 7th Century A. D. Its proper identification & location are still in doubt. Most probably it is Sriketra, modern Puri.

4. Palura—another ancient port in the Orissan Coast. It is identified by the French Scholar Sylvain Levy with Dantapura the ancient capital of Kalinga,

5. Tamralipti is modern Tamluk in West Bengal. This was also a flourishing port in the coast of Ancient Orissa.

6. Stirling's Orissa, P. 70,

7. Ibid,

(Nour) and castle, called Chaudwar or mansion with four gates⁸". This clearly indicates that Chaudwar, situated to the north of Cuttack on the left bank of the Virupa was one of the seats of the early Kesari rulers, who are also known to us as Somma Vansi Kings. A number of copper plates issued by these rulers came to light during the decade from 1872 to 1882 and many more were also unearthed in the late 19th. and early 20th. centuries. The evidences gathered from these plates differ to a great extent from the writing of Stirling, but they go to corroborate his views in connection with Chaudwar being an early seat of authority of the Kesari Kings. The earliest ruler of this dynasty, known to us, is Mahabhava-gupta Janamejaya, who ruled at least for a period of thirty-four years during the second half of the 8th. Century A. D.* During the 31st. year of his rule he issued three of his copper plate charters from a place named Kataka which has been identified by Pt. Binayak Misra,⁹ and Dr. H. K. Mahatab¹⁰ with modern Chaudwar and if this identification is taken to be correct, Janamejaya should be regarded as the founder of the town of Cuttack (Chaudwara Kataka). A tradition prevailing in Orissa reveals that Janamejaya of Puranic fame performed the Snake Sacrifice at Chaudwar, and the local people point out a place named Agrahat near Chaudwar where the great sacrifice was believed to have been performed. This Puranic Janamejaya may well be taken to be the historic Janamejaya Mahabhavagupta, the earliest known Somavamsi ruler of Orissa, who appears to have made Chaudwar one of the seats of his authority during the later part of his reign.

Yajati I Mahasivagupta, son and successor of Mahabhavagupta Janamejaya, founded a town called Yajatinagara on the Mahanadi near Sonapur and soon after that Chaudwar was known as the Abhinava Yajatinagar. The name Abhinavayajatinagar is mentioned in the Madalapanji and the Muslim historians from the 13th. to the 15th. centuries A.D. invariably described Orissa as Jajnagar probably after this town. (Chaudwar).

The importance of Kataka (Cuttack) rapidly increased after the occupation of Orissa by Chodaganga Deva early in the 12th. Century A.D. In 1135 A.D. Chodaganga referred to his "newly made conquests of three quarters, northern, southern, and western"¹¹ and it was in this year that he transferred his Capital from Kalinganagara to Katak, which was then considered to be the centralised place of his far flung empire. Chodaganga, is known to have built a new seat of authority on the right bank of the Katjori, which was known after him as Sarangagarh Kataka and Stirling adds that "tradition also ascribes to him (Churanga, or Saranga Deo) the building of the forts and places both at Sarangarh and Cuttack Chaudwar".¹²

Anang Bhimadeva III (1211-1238 A.D.) built a new town called Baranasi Kataka on the left bank of the Mahanadi opposite to Chaudwar, and subsequently he transferred his headquarters from the Abhinava Yajatinagara (Chaudwara-Kataka) to the Abhinava Baranasi Kataka. This transfer of his seat of authority has found mention in the Madalapanji as follows :-

8. *Ibid* p. 60

9. Pt. B. Misra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa* p. 75

10. H. K. Mahatab, *History of Orissa*, p. 60.

11. *S. I. I.*, Vol V. No. 1335.

12. *Stirling's Orissa* p. 71.

* Note: - Dr. D. C. Sircar assigns (ie. assigns) Janamejaya to middle of the 10th. century A. D. and Yajati to 976-1000 A. D. (vide *O. H. R. J.* Vol. I, No. 4, p. 239)

"Anangabhimadev-This king used to reside at the town called Chaudwar Kataka. While he was residing there, one day, the King crossed the Mahanadi and on the Southern bank of it, in the vicinity of Bisvesvara Siva situated in the village Barabati in the Kodinda Dandapata, he saw that a heron killed a hawk. The king was astonished at this un-usual event and laid the foundation of a Kataka in the Barabati village, and after building the palace and making it a Kataka, called the place as the Baranasi Kataka and left Chaudwar Kataka"¹³.

Stirling also refers to this episode and writes as follows, probably basing his accounts on the *Madala Panji*.

"He (Raja Anangabhim Deo) resided during the early part of his reign in the Nour or Palace called Chaudwar at Jajapur, but was induced by some omen to build a magnificent palace on the site of Fort Barabati, adjoining the town of Cuttack, where he afterwards held his Court chiefly. The construction of the present castle of that name should in all probability be referred to this period, though a later date is generally assigned to it."¹⁴

The traditional account of the shifting of the Capital from Choudwar to Baranasi, by Anangabhim, is also corroborated by the recently found Nagari Copper plate that was issued by him in the Saka year 1151 or A.D. 1229, from Abhinava Baranasi Kataka. Anangabhim, being a devoted Vaishnava, built a gigantic temple for Lord Jagannatha at this new Capital and the images were installed in it on the 9th. day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, which was a Sunday in the Saka year 1151. The Nagari inscription noted above was granted to a Brahmin, one pandit Sankarsan Nanda of Silo who had taken part on the occasion of the consecration ceremony of this temple¹⁵.

Although the evidence of the *Madalapanji* regarding the transfer of Capital from Chaudwar to Baranasi Kataka finds corroboration in the Nagari record, its other accounts as to the foundation of Cuttack by Nrupa Kesari in between the Mahanadi and the Katjori and the building of the protective revetment by Marakata Kesari long before Anangabhim Deva, cannot be regarded as authentic, so long as, corroborative evidence in the shape of copper plate is not discovered. The very fact that Ananga Bhima Deva III founded the Abhinava Baranasi Kataka (Bidanasi on the south bank of the Mahanadi, sometimes during the period from 1211 A.D. to 1229 A.D. dismisses any other possibility of its having been founded by Nirupa Kesari. There is also nothing to show in favour of the fact that the stone revetment of the Katjori was constructed as early as the Kesari period. This revetment which runs in a horse shoe pattern starting on the left bank of the Katjori from near Khannagar and stretching westward upto the Chahataghat of the Mahanadi and after that extending on the right bank of the Mahanadi as far as the Jobraghat suggests that it was constructed at the bifurcation of the Katjori from the Mahanadi and that this bifurcation at the time of the construction of this revetment was not far away from the Chahataghat. Since the time of the construction of this revetment the Katajori appears to have receded as far as the rock of Naraj.

The daughter of Yayati (or Janamejaya?) was Intire over the Bhaumakara Kunjoban in Utkala as can not presume establishment of Somavamsi note in Utkala in the time of Janamejaya or Yayati. Jt. Editor.

13. A. B. Mohanty, *Madala Panji* p. 27.

14. Stirling, *Op. Cit.*

15. E. I. Vol. XXVIII pp. 235 ff.

16. *Ibid.*

Even as late as 1790 the Katjori was flowing off the Mahanadi at a place south of Dhabalesvar and Mr. Leckei who crossed this river that year states : "About two miles from Cuttack, to the West, at the foot of a Hindu temple the Cutjora, separating itself from the Mahanaddy, flows to the Southward of the town.¹⁷" Considering all these facts it can be concluded that this great engineering work may not be as old as the time of the Kesari rule and that it was possibly constructed sometimes after the foundation of the Abhinava Baranasi Kataka by Anangabhimha Deva III and at the time of its construction the Katjori was issuing forth from the Mahanadi at Chahataghat.

Muslim invasion against Jainagar (Orissa) starts, as early as 1205 A. D. when Rajaraja III, father of Anangabhimha III was ruling from his headquarters at Chaudwar Kataka. We, know from *Tabakati Nusiri* of Minhaj-i-j Siraj that Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyar Khalji sent for the invasion of Jainagar (Orissa) in 1205 A. D. two Khalji Amirs:- Mahammad-i-Sheran and his brother Ahmed-i-Sheran who were opposed by Rajaraja III, but as in the meantime Muhammad Bakhtiyar was killed, these two brothers had to "come back from that quarter" achieving nothing.¹⁸ Minhaj, however, states that when Ghiyasuddin Iwaz Shah became the master of Muslim Bengal in 1212 A. D. he realised tributes from Banga, Kamarup, Tirhut and Jayanagar.¹⁹ But a mighty ruler like Anangabhimadeva III can not be regarded as a tributary of Iwaz Shah and so this Jayanagar was probably the same as Tippera and not Orissa. The Chatesvara Temple inscription of Anangabhimha III clearly indicates that the Muslims were defeated and repulsed by the Orissan warriors led by general Vishnu.²⁰

It was probably during the reign of Anangabhimha III, that Narahari Tirtha, the leading disciple of Madhvacharya visited Baranasi Kataka with the message of Dvaitadvaita—Dualistic non-dualism. Narahari stayed in Orissa till his death, sometime during the reign of Narashimha II, and exercised considerable influence both in the religious and political activities of this territory.

During the reign of Narasimha I, the son of Anangabhimha III, Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan of Bengal ambitiously invaded Jainagar in A. H. 641 i. e. 1243 A. D. There upon Narasimha I "the Rae of Jainagar advanced towards Lakhnauti.²¹ and in the engagement that took place at Katasin quite a large number of Muslims were slain, while Tughan Khan saved his life by taking to flight. In 1279 A. D. Tughril Khan, the then Governor of Bengal is said to have over ran Jainagar, but as according to Ziauddin Barani, this territory was situated to the east of the Brahmaputra, it was without doubt, the same as Tippera.²² During the reign of Narasimha deva II Prince Juna Khan, the son of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq invaded

17. *Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territories* p. 55.

18. *Tabaqati Nasiri*, Eng. Trans. by Major Raverty Vol. I. p. 674.

19. *Ibid* P. 687.

20. *J. A. S. B.* (old series) Vol. IXVII, 1898 Part I, pp. 322-26.

21. *Tabaqat Op. Cit.* PP. 738-39.

22. Elliot and Dowson, *Twari kh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Vol. II, p. 113.

Jajnagar from the South, after having conquered Warangal in 1323 A. D., but he had to go back acquiring only forty elephants.²³ The great onslaught, however, came in 1361 A. D., when Sultan Firuz Tughluq invaded Orissa and destroyed innumerable temples from Khiching (Kinianagar) to Baranasi Kataka.²⁴ It is known from *Tmarikh i-Firuz Shahi* that the Rae who was called "Bhanu Diw" took refuge in an island of the river, while the Sultan destroyed the stone images that were being worshipped within the fort.²⁵ The writer of the work *Shams-i-Siraj Afif* describes Jajnagar in connection with this historic invasion in the following words:—

"The country of Jajnagar was very prosperous and happy. The author's father, who was in the royal suite, informed the writer that it was in a very flourishing state, and the abundance of corn and fruit supplied all the wants of the army and animals so that they recovered from the hardships of the campaign. Sultan Firoz rested at Baranasi, an ancient residence of the arrogant Rais. At that time the Rai of Jajnagar by name Adayat, had deemed it expedient to quit Baranasi, and to take up his residence elsewhere, so Sultan Firoz occupied his palace. The writer has been informed that there were two forts in Baranasi, each populated with a large number of people. The Rais were Brahmans, and it was held to be religious duty that every one who succeeded to the title of Rai at Jajnagar, should add something to these forts. They had thus grown very large." Bhanudeva II sued for peace by sending twenty mighty elephants as offering and agreed to furnish certain number of them annually as revenue. Sultan Firoz was satisfied at this and sent robes and insignia to the King.²⁶ After the departure of the Sultan Bhanudev is known to have regained his former sovereignty and we do not find any of the Ganga kings of Baranasi Kataka as sending revenue to the Sultan of Delhi.

The last of the Ganga rulers in Jajnagar called Bhanudeva VI also known as Matta Bhanu and Nisanka Bhanu was ruling during the first quarter of the 15th Century A. D., and was a weak and imbecile ruler. The record of Ferishta²⁷ reveals that during his rule Sultan Hushang Ghuri of Malwa came to Jajnagar, in the guise of a merchant in the year 825 A. H. 1421 A. D. with one thousand horsemen and surprised the Raja, whom he took into captivity. The vazirs of Jajnagar gave 75 splendid elephants to the Sultan as ransom and there upon Sultan Hushang released the King and returned to his own territory.

Some scholars, however, entertain doubts as to the authenticity of this account and R. D. Banerji thinks that this episode might have taken place at Ratnapur or Tummana in C. P. and not in Orissa.²⁸

23. *Ibid* p. 234,

24. *O.H.R.J* Vol. I, Part I. Vide the article of Dr. H. K. Mahatab in pp. 31-35.

25. Elliot and Dowson *Op-Op* pp. 212, 216.

+ Adaya refers to Dhanu Deva.

26. Elliot, *History of India* Vol. III p. 312.

27. Briggs, *Ferishta* Vol. IV, p. 179.

28. Briggs, *Ibid*. R. D. Banerji, *Hist. of Orissa* Vol. 1. p. 287.

After the end of the Ganga rule Orissa passed to the hands of the Gajapati kings, belonging to the solar dynasty, under whom Baranasi Kataka continued to be the capital of Orissa. Kapilendradeva, (1435-1467 A. D.) the founder of this dynasty, was a great empire builder and he extended the empire of Orissa from the Ganges in the north to the Kavery in the south. Purushottama Deva (1467 - 1497 A. D.) the son and successor of Kapilendradeva, lost for some time the southern portion of this empire, comprising the kingdom of Vijayanagar, but subsequently he was successful in winning it back by the prowess of his arms during the later part of his reign. The image of Krishna known as Sakthigopal was brought by him from Kanchi, among many other trophies of war, and it was installed in Baranasi Kataka. This image has been placed at present in Satyavadi but it was in Cuttack (Kataka) as late as 1510 when Sri Chaitanya Deva visited the City. During the reign of Prataparudradeva, (1497-1540 A. D.) the son and successor of Purushottamadeva, the empire of Orissa fast began to decline. Krishna Deva Ray, the great emperor of Vijayanagar scored a series of victories against the Gajapati King and occupied the southern territories of the Orissan empire including the Krishna Godavari Doab. A few Telugu Chronicles viz. *Parijatapaharanama*, *Amuktamalyada* etc. allege that Krishnadeva Ray advanced as far as Kataka Puri in his march of conquest. But these chronicles seem to be prone to exaggeration and there is absolutely no archeological evidence to support their claim. Krishnadeva Ray must have marched as far as Sri Kurmam, where he erected the last of his pillars of victory.²⁹

After the death of Prataprudra, his minister Govinda Vidyadhara of the Bhoi dynasty usurped the throne at Baranasi Kataka. He murdered the two sons of Prataparudra and appointed Danardan Vidyadhara as the Chief Minister and Mukunda Harichandan as the Governor of Kataka. Govinda Vidyadhara was a man of action and he invaded Golkunda with a view to reviving the imperial tradition of Orissa. But during his absence Raghu Bhanja Chhotrai, a scion of the Bhanja family of Mayurbhanj rose in rebellion and besieged Baranasi Kataka, which was then ably defended by the Governor Mukunda Harichandan. In the face of this danger Govinda Vidyadhara gave up the idea of his war against Golkunda and rushed towards Kataka to encounter the rebel Raghubhanja and his allies. The insurgents were defeated and pursued as far as the Ganges but soon after Govinda Vidyadhara died on the bank of the Baitarani at Dasasvamedha Ghat, Jajpur.

Stirling notes the political events of Cuttack following the death of Govinda Vidyadhar as follows :

"There being no heir left of the Rajas of Orissa, a chief named Narsing Jenna, distinguished for his bravery and conduct, stepped into the vacant seat of Government. Jealous of the influence of Danayi Bidyadhar, he procured his attendance from the Deccan, and then with assistance of his rival Mukunda Harichandan, threw him into chains and imprisonment at Cuttack. In the meantime Raghu Bhanj Chotra having recovered from his

29. P. Mukherjee, *Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, p. 93.

30. See also R. D. Banerji *Op Cit* p. 241.

former defeat, entered Orissa again at the head of a large force to insist his claims to the Raj. He was opposed by Mukunda Harichandan who took him prisoner after many bloody battles."³⁰

Mukunda Deva Harichandan at last usurped the throne of Baranasi Kataka in 1560 and although he was surrounded by treacherous rivals and enemies he ruled efficiently upto 1568. He was a natural enemy of Sultan Sulaiman Khan Kararani, Afghan Sultan of Bengal who was ambitious enough to occupy Orissa. The Moghul emperor Akbar, who was then planning an invasion on Bengal took note of the enmity between Orissa and Bengal and diplomatically entered into alliance with Mukunda Deva. There was exchange of embassies between Delhi and Cuttack and a diplomatic relationship was established between the courts of Akbar and Mukunda Deva. But, when in 1567 Akbar was engaged in the siege of Chitore, Sulaiman sent a large army under his son Bayazid against Orissa. The Muslim army advanced upto Baranasi Kataka and occupied the strong fort of Barabati, in the defence of which the general Koli Samanta Simhara shed his life blood. In the midst of this disaster Rama Chandra Bhanja the commander of Sarangagarh revolted against Mukunda Deva and declared himself the king of Orissa. Mukunda Deva met him at Goohiratikiri, north of Jajpur, where he fell fighting with him.³¹ Soon after Ram Chandra Bhanja was also defeated and killed by Bayazid and thus Orissa passed to the hands of the Afghans in 1568 A. D.

Mukunda Deva was the last independent Hindu ruler of Orissa and during his short rule of only eight years Cuttack (Kataka) witnessed many-sided development. Abul Fazl Allami writes about Cuttack in his *Ain-i-Akbari* as follows:—

"Katak. The City has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of two rivers, the Mahanadi held in high veneration by the Hindus and the Katjuri. It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings. For five or six kos round the fort during the rains the country is under water. Rajah Makand Deo built a Palace here nine storeys in height, the first storey was taken up for the elephants and the stables; the second was occupied by the artillery and the wards and quarters for attendants; the third by the patrol and gate keeper; the fourth by the workshops; the fifth by the Kitchens, the sixth contained the public reception room; the seventh, the private apartment; the eighth, the women's apartments; and the ninth the sleeping chamber of the Governor."³²

The statement of the *Ain-i-Akbari* clearly indicates that Cuttack (Kataka) was a flourishing Capital city during the time of Mukunda Deva. The fort of Baranasi Kataka was no doubt constructed by Anangabhimadeva III and Sham-i-Siraj Afif in his *Twarikh-i-Firozshahi* gives detailed accounts of the fort of Barabati at Kataka. Mukundadeva appears to have greatly enlarged the original Fort of Anangabhimadev and made it nine storey high. The chaotic and troublous time warranted these defensive activities and on the eve of the Afghan occupation Cuttack was found a well guarded and heavily fortified Capital.

31, Vide 'Notes on Hist. of Orissa' J. A. S. B. 1933,
32, *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II, pp. 126-27.

The Afghans, however, were not destined to rule Orissa, and they were soon ousted by the Imperial Mughal Power. Daud, the son and successor of Sulaiman Kararani was stupid enough to defy the prowess of Akbar at which the Mughal emperor sent Munim Khan, an aged general, to deal with him. The Mughal army occupied Patna in 1574 and early the next year Daud was defeated at Tukaroi near Balasore. Daud was finally defeated and slain as a result of another campaign in a battle fought near Rajmahal, and Bengal and Orissa were annexed to Akber's empire in 1590 A. D.

Raja Man Singh finally subdued Orissa in 1592 and with the help of Raja Todar Mal, the great Minister of Akbar, he made settlement of this Province, the records of which find mention in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl Allami. During the Mughal rule Orissa was included in the Subah of Bengal, and there were in it five Sarkars named Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Katak, Kaling Dandapat and Raj Mahandrai. Katak (Cuttack) continued to be the capital of Mughal Orissa and Abul Fazl clearly mentions that the Mughal Governor was residing in this City which had "a stone fort of great strength and a masonry palace-with-in."

On the 1st, of May 1633, a small party of English merchants headed by Cartwright arrived at Cuttack from Masulipatam via Hariharpur and stayed there upto the 9th of May.

Agha Mahammad Zaman of Teheran, a Mughal Viceroy, now abode in the stately palace of "Malcandy." The English travellers reached the palace from the east over a long narrow causeway, and were conducted through a labyrinth of buildings to the court of public audience.³³ Bruton, who accompanied the party writes of the Palace of Mughal Viceroy as follows :—

"Thus have I, plainiy and truly related the occurrences that happened at the Court of Malcandy³⁴; but although the palace of the Nawab be so large in extent, and so magnificent in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it, but every night he lodged in tents, with his most trusty servants and guards about him; for it is an abomination to the Mughals (which are white men) to rest or sleep under the roof of a house that another man hath built for his own honour. And therefore, he was building a palace, which he proposed should be a fabric of rest, and future remembrance of his renown."³⁵

The remains of the "stately Palace of Malcandy" is in complete ruins but the new Palace that was built in 1633, and referred to by William Bruton was no doubt, standing on the bank of the Katjori, and was popularly known as the "Lalbag." T. Motte who witnessed the Lalbag Palace in 1766 has given the following account of it—

33 *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, P. 7.

34. Till now historians explained the word 'Malcandy' as derived from Mukunda Deva, Prof. G. S. Das in his article "History of Lalbag" has conclusively proved that 'Malcandy' is a later misprint of 'Mahandi' vide his article on 'Palace of Lal Bag' in Sir J. N. Sirkar commemoration-volume planned by the East Punjab University.

35. *Early Annals*, Op. Cit.

“Each of the sides of the triangle on which Cuttack is built is two miles, but on the banks of the Cutjuree is best inhabited. On it is Lalbug the residence of the Governor of the Province, a large building, laid out in a number of Courts, in the Morisco taste, but much out of repair the Government when one part is ready to fall, removing to another. From the Principal entrance of the palace, runs the great street, formerly built in a straight line, one mile and half long, and still the chief place of business in the town.”³⁶

Close to the Lalbag Palace was built the Juma Masjid in Hijri 1102 i.e. 1690 A. D. by Zaibun Nisa Khanam, the Shahzada Begum, wife of Ekram Khan, the then Governor of Cuttack under Aurangzeb. This Musjid is located at modern Balubazar of Cuttack and being surrounded by various stalls and residential buildings it now fails to attract the eyes of the visitors. An important monument known as Kadam Rasul was built at Cuttack in the Hijra year 1127 i. e. 1715 A. D. during the reign of Shah Alam Badshah. It is believed to have contained the foot print of the Prophet, commissioned from Mecca by one Suja-Uddin Muhammad Khan. One of the Persian inscriptions found in the compound of the Kadam Rasul reveals that Nawab Muhammad Taqi Khan was engraved within its premises in the Hijra year 1147 1734 A. D.

When Aurangzeb died in 1707, Murshid Quli Jafar Khan, who had been the Governor of Bengal since 1703, made himself an independent Nazim, and appointed his son-in-law Suja Uddin as Naib Nazim of Orissa at Cuttack. Sujauddin was an able and enlightened administrator and he was popularly admired in Orissa. When Murshid Quli died in 1727 A.D. he was succeeded by Sujauddin as Nazim of Bengal, who made his illegitimate son Muhammad Taqi Khan the Naib Nazim of Orissa. Muhammad Taqi proved to be a very notorious Governor of Cuttack and during his rule people suffered various types of dishonour and oppression. He imprisoned Rama Chandra Deva II, the Raja of Khurdha and forced him to embrace Islam, who was then renamed as Hafiz Quadr. A zealous iconoclast, he disfigured and broke down large number of cult images, and desecrated and plundered the temple of Jagannath, although temple servitors succeeded in removing the triple images of Jagannath to an island in the Chilka lake. Taqi Khan, however, did not survive long and died a mysterious death in 1734 which according to Muhammadan superstition was the result of certain witch craft. Murshid Quli Khan II, the son-in-law of Sujauddin succeeded Muhammad Taqi at Cuttack as Naib Nazim of Orissa, and in order to win back the good-will of the people, he not only helped a local chief Dandadeva to reinstall the images of Jagannath in the temple, but also gave the plum of one of his daughters to Hafiz Quadr, the converted ruler of Khurdha. Sujauddin died in 1739 and was succeeded by his son Sa'faraz Khan, who, however, was soon defeated and killed at Giria by Alivardi Khan, the Naib Nazim of Bihar. The Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah, could not but recognise Alivardi as the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. After thus acquiring Bengal Alivardi invaded Orissa to chastize Murshid Quli II, who had challenged his authority. and as the latter was defeated and driven to take shelter at Muslipatam, the Zamindars and generals of Orissa surrendered themselves to Alivardi. Issuing proclamations Alivardi Khan won over to his side the Collectors, Zamindars and Officers of Orissa.

But the weakness and misrule of Said Ahmed gave rise to a strong rebellion at Cuttack led by Mirza Baqir (one of the sons-in-law of Murshid Quli, II) who imprisoned Said Ahmed and occupied the whole of Orissa. Alivardi

then came to Orissa for the second time and suppressed the rebellions Mirza with great difficulty. In the midst of the battle Said Ahmed was miraculously saved from the sword of his enemies and could manage to escape to the camp of Alivardi.

In the meantime Raghuji Bhonsla I of Nagpur, invited by Mir Habib, a friend of Murshid Quli II, sent a large army under Bhaskar Pandit, who made a surprise attack upon Alivardi and ravaged West Bengal. Alivardi Khan, however, managed to drive the Marhattas away from Bengal, but the latter retreated across the jungles and fell back upon the province of Orissa. The repeated Marhatta incursions considerably undermined the power of Alivardi and depleted his Treasury. By 1747 Orissa practically came under the occupation of the Marhattas and when taking opportunity of the weakness of the Nazim the Afghan Chiefs of Bihar raised the standard of rebellion, Alivardi was forced to conclude a treaty with the Bhonsla in 1751. He agreed to pay annually twelve lakhs of rupees as Chauth, & ceded the revenues of the Province of Cuttack to the south of the river Suvarnarekha to the Bhonsla Raja.

During the rule of the Marhattas Cuttack greatly prospered as an emporium of trade and it became the central market of exchange between the Marhattas of Nagpur territory and the English merchants in Bengal and Northern Sircar. The area of the town also extended considerably by this time and the Chauliaganj area where the Marhattas had their military camp for commanding the high roads passing towards north and the south, is an extension of the period. The Marhatta camp in this area was visited by Mr. Motte during his stay at Cuttack enroute to Sambalpur in 1766, and he speaks eloquently of the strength and organisation of this stronghold. Nothing, however remains at present excepting the long line of the Marhatta stables to indicate the military stronghold of the Marhattas. The stables are now utilised as the quarters of the military police by the State Government.

The fort of Barabati was also considerably improved by the Marhattas who strengthened the ramparts while the ditch round the fort was also widened and deepened by them. One of the Marhatta methods of war was to roll down heavy stones from the top of the ramparts upon the enemies as the latter mass together in the narrow passage of the fort while storming it, and arrangements were made for such strategical fighting inside the Barabati. The Marhattas also beautified Cuttack by building some temples and Mathas and the Amaresvara temple in Buxi bazar and the Mastaram Math at Shaikh bazar were the examples of such works of the Marhattas in Cuttack. These together with the Marhatta stables, the eastern facade of the Barabati fort, the ditch round the fort and a few resident Marhatta families are the only remnants of the brief period of marhatta rule in Cuttack.

It was the time when the English power was rapidly growing in Bengal in the north and in the Northern Sircar in the South of Orissa. Immediately after the battle of Plassey (1757) a sort of cold war started between the English and the Marhattas for the possession of Orissa and it continued throughout the 18th century. By 1799 the entire Eastern Coast upto Ganjam came under the occupation of the English and Governor General Wellesley planned in June

1803, just before the commencement of his Marhatta wars "to unite the Northern Circars by a continued line of sea coast with Bengal."³⁷ During the second Marhatta war the conquest of Orissa by the English was practically achieved in the afternoon of the 14th. October, 1803 when the fort of Barabati was occupied by Lieutenant Colonel Clayton, and the legal recognition of it was made in the Treaty of Deogaon on the 17th. December, 1803.

Immediately after the occupation of Cuttack in 1803 the English set themselves to the task of consolidation and Land Revenue Administration. In December, 1803 Colonel Harcourt and Mr. Melvill were appointed as the Commissioners of the Province and were stationed at Cuttack, while Mr. James Hunter was sent to Puri as 'Acting Collector at Jagannath'. The Commissioners were given the charge of making a land revenue settlement with proper regard to the local customs and traditions. They were, therefore, compelled to maintain with certain modifications the fiscal system of the Marhattas retaining the offices of the Amils, the Pharnavis and the Quanungoes. The Amils, who were the native Collectors were to submit reports of their monthly collection to the Collectors, who had general jurisdiction in all revenue matters, subject to revision and control by the Commissioners. The Amils also continued to enjoy the judicial powers as they had during the days of the Marhattas and civil suits were decided by them under the supervision of the Collectors. In June 1804 Orissa was divided into two administrative zones with the river Mahanadi as the boundary between them, and Mr. Robert Ker and Mr. Charles Grome were appointed in the northern and southern divisions respectively as the Judge, Magistrate and Collector.³⁸ This system was, however, given up in the following year when the two divisions were made into one under the administration of a Collector. This was effected by the Regulation XII of 1805, which embodies the results of the first land revenue settlement in Orissa. This regulation abolished the office of the Special Commissioners and empowered the Board of Revenue at Fort William to superintend the revenue administration of Orissa.

The settlement of 1805 was soon followed by a Triennial settlement which failed to produce satisfactory results and so in 1808-09, the settlement was made annual, a policy which continued upto 1812. In 1813 an experiment was made for two years' settlement but was given up in favour of the annual one in 1815. The triennial system revived in 1816, and subsequently in 1822-23 a quinquennial settlement was adopted. These quick successions of early English land settlements indicate the inefficiency and hasty conduct of the officers who were in charge of the revenue administration of Orissa. The officers were, no doubt, highly rapacious and corrupt; interested more in their amassing of fortune than in the lot of the poor tillers of the soil, and they were helped by a band of greedy and unscrupulous Bengali adventurers who took all possible measures to exploit the people in their own interest. The result of the land settlements was naturally disastrous to the Oriya proprietors and the cultivators alike, and the Government in its turn had to sustain great loss and to face incalculable troubles. "The Collector had no information as to the real assets of the estates, for the Zamindars and the Amils combined to withhold all papers, and he had to proceed on a very rough estimate of the quantity of land in cultivation and on the reports of interested subordinates. Arrears accumulated

37. Letter from Marquiss of Wellesley to Major General Wellesley, 27th. June, 1808, paras 7 & 8.

38. To: anbec - History of Orissa.

rapidly, and in 1806 began the system of putting up defaulting estates for sale in Calcutta, a policy which proved the ruin of many old families and allowed Bengali speculators to buy valuable properties at low prices. Many left their estates to be held by the Collectors, who in their turn either managed through Tahasildars who extorted as much as they could or farmed them out to speculators who rack-rented the ryots. A large portion of the revenue assessed could not be collected".³⁹ To this was added the trouble which resulted from the depreciation of the value of Cowries and then sudden rise in the price of salt. In December, 1812 the Government issued the declaration that Cowries would no longer be received in payment of revenue, and this came as a bolt from the blue to the poor cultivators. People were naturally led to believe that they were better off under the Marhattas than under the British.⁴⁰

Thus the early years of the British occupation brought about disastrous changes in the economic and social life of the people. Large number of aristocratic and reputed Oriya families were ruined and reduced to destitution and their lands were grabbed by unscrupulous proprietors who mercilessly exploited the cultivators. The settlements greatly affected the economic condition of the Paiks, the landed militia of Orissa. "Deprived of the lands which they had enjoyed from time immemorial they were subjected to the greatest extortion and oppression at the hands of the formers, Sarbarakars and other underlings, to whom our Government entrusted the collection of the revenue and also to the tyrannies of a corrupt and venal police."⁴¹ "All classes of people were thus seething with discontent on account of the corrupt administration and very soon there burst out a serious rebellion as a reaction to it. In March 1817 the Khonds of Ghumsur joined with the militant Paiks who raised the standard of rebellion and the Marhatta residents of Cuttack extended full support to the rising. Buxi Jagabandhu Vidyadhar Bhramarabara Ray the Commander-in-Chief of Mukundadeva II the last Raja of Khurdha, had been reduced to a pauper by the Bengali favourites of the British Officers, and as no justice was forthcoming to redress his grievances he was forced to join this great revolution to which he gave a formidable leadership. The Buxi was hailed throughout the country as a national hero and the British Government with all the political powers and military resources at their command, utterly failed to suppress him. The Paiks occupied Puri in the middle of April 1817 and the Collector was forced to retire with the troops to Cuttack. Subsequently, however, the rebellion cooled down and Jagabandhu Bidyadhar surrendered himself to the English in the year 1815. He was allowed to reside in Cuttack and was granted an allowance of Rs. 100/- p. m. till his death. He spent his last days in Buxibazar, which has been named after him, and an old tank named Buxi Pokhari indicates till today the location of the house of this great hero in the heart of Cuttack.

The Paik rebellion brought about a great change in the policy of land revenue administration in Orissa. And the British authorities gave serious attention to devise a stable system of settlement. Accordingly in 1835 a settlement was made for thirty years, and liberal terms were offered to the proprietors and the cultivators to increase the cultivated areas. This system worked

39. D & O Dist. Gazetteer, Cuttack P. 170.

40. According to Mr. Ewer two-thirds of the Oriya Zamindars were completely wiped out and replaced by Bengali Zamindars within first fourteen years of British Rule.

41. Ibid. P. 3 .

well for some years, but by the end of the 30 years term there broke out a famine in 1865-66 which devastated the whole of Orissa. Although the monsoons failed in 1865 the complete apathy and negligence of the Government were the chief causes of this famine and so it was more of a man made catastrophe than a natural one. The Government could not take adequate precaution for the seriousness of the situation until the prisoners in the jail began to fast owing to shortage of rice. In June attempt was made to import rice from outside, but it was dropped in July, on account of monsoons. Tens of thousands of people, old and young, of both the sexes died of starvation and large number of beggars and destitutes thronged in Cuttack which presented a ghastly spectacle. The famine of 1865-66 was no doubt, not new to Cuttack. This place had enough of experience of famines and starvation during the British rule in the past; Famines, for instance, had broken out in Cuttack in the years 1806, 1808, 1810, 1817, 1828, 1836, 1837 and 1842. But this particular famine, which is known as the "Na-anka" because of its occurrence in the 11th. Anka (regal year) of Raja Divyasinghadeva of Puri, was of a colossal nature and the human misery and mortality in it were horrible and incalculable. Sri Pyarimohan Acharya, a public spirited man of Cuttack who witnessed the horrors of famine has left the following description of it. "One feels stunned when one remembers the shocking events that took place at that time. It is quite impossible to give a faithful picture of the horrors of the famine that came accompanied by death itself".

"The towns were filled with the sorrowful shrieks of thousands of men, women and children, who had been reduced to mere skeletons. The crematory grounds near the towns and villages were full of innumerable dead bodies and upon them the vultures and jackals feasted to their hearts' content. Men and women forsook their natural instincts owing to the unbearable pang of hunger, Parents cast away their starving children before wild animals to be devoured by them. Some even ate the dead bodies of their own children like demons. Social evils such as murder, suicide etc. became a very common thing at the time. Some people tried to live upon wild shrubs and inedible materials."

Along with this great famine there came the devastating flood of the year 1866 which washed away the early rice crop and completely submerged all types of cultivable lands. Like famines, floods were also a common source of calamity to the people of Cuttack, and "since 1830 floods of serious character have occurred no less than 28 times, viz. in 1831, 1834, 1848, 1851, 1856, 1856, 1857, 1862, 1863, 1866, 1868, 1872, 1874, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1886, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1900, 1907, 1911, 1913, 1920, 1926 and 1927." ⁴² Particular the flood of 1866 caused wide spread havoc because it visited in company of a disastrous famine and continued for a very long time - 642 square miles of land being sub-merged for a period varying from 3 to 60 days. But the embankment remained in tact.

The great famine and the great flood of 1865-66, broke down the lethargy of the British authorities whose sympathetic attention was not drawn to Orissa. It was evident that the relief measures of these critical years suffered greatly due to lamentable deficiency of communication. There was no regular communication between the sea coast and Cuttack and a traveller landing at False point found himself as far from Cuttack as if he had never started from

Calcutta. The State of communication has been described by the famine Commissioners of 1857 as follows :—

"There is a precarious traffic with Sambalpur by boats of a peculiar construction, which navigate the difficult river Mahanadi in the rainy season and for a month or two after; for the rest of the year this communication is closed. On the other side, the nature of the coast and the sea is such as effectually to stop all native traffic for major part of the year. With one exception—False Point—there is no protected anchorage of any kind, and that exception may be said to be in some sense almost a recent discovery. Such being the difficulties on either side of the length of Orissa, the only ordinary mode of communication with the outside world is by the route traversing its length. That, however, is so much intersected by the streams, already mentioned, and has been hitherto so little rendered practicable by art, that, it is comparatively little used by wheeled carriages, pack bullocks still predominate at all times; in the rainy season wheeled traffic is quite impracticable; and when the rains are heavy even pack bullocks can not be used. At this day the European Officer who cannot obtain a special steamer must find his way into Orissa slowly and tediously, as ancient officers may have travelled in the days of Asoka, and the very post takes several days between Calcutta and Cuttack"⁴²

As an after effect of the great famine the Government gave serious consideration to remove the isolation of Cuttack from the outside world and at the same time to prevent the recurrence of such calamities in future. The Famine Commissioners reported that False Point had the prospect of being the best harbour between the Hooghly and Bombay and strongly urged upon the Government to give proper attention to its development. As a result of this the harbour was surveyed and deepened and the Kendrapara canal was excavated in order to connect it with Cuttack. In 1875 a scheme was put forward to develop this harbour at a cost of Rs. 2,33,000 and the Government of Bengal moved the Government of India to extend the provisions of the Indian Ports Act to False Point. Unfortunately, however this scheme was given up the next year as the Superintendent of Marine Surveys declined to support such a costly measure.

The excavation of canals was given due attention by the East India Irrigation Company which was started as early as 1862. The general plan was to dig out a series of canals leading off from the weirs at Cuttack, running along the margins of the great rivers, and having on the side next each river an embankment to keep out the floods. In the Mahanadi three separate weirs were built which were known as the Naraj, Mahanadi and Birupa weirs. "The Mahanadi weir runs across the head of the main branch of the Mahanadi at Jobra immediately below Cuttack, and supplies water to the Taldanda Canal and its branch, the Machgaon canal. It has a length of 6349 feet between its abutments, and is pierced with the sets of scouring sluices, one of which has been placed at the south end of the weir in order to prevent any accumulation of sand in front of the head sluices of the canal and the entrance to the Jobra lock, while the other is situated near the centre of the work and serves the purpose of keeping a deep water channel open for navigation in the pool about the weir." The High level canal branches off the Birupa weir Orissa. The original scheme was to extend this canal across Midnapur as far as the Hooghly, but unfortunately

⁴² Dist. Gazetteer, Cuttack P, 127.

⁴³ Quoted in the Dist. Gazetteer, Cuttack P: 166,

it was abandoned later. The Kendrapara canal, which is the most important and the oldest one in the district of Cuttack was opened up in 1869 just above the Birupa weir at Jagatpur. The Gobri and the Pattamundal canals which branch off from the Kendrapara canal irrigate some of the richest lands in Orissa and protect them from the violent floods, while the Gobri provides trade communication between Cuttack and Chandbali. An alternative route from Cuttack to Chandbali via the Hansua Creek is provided by the Taldanda Canal which starts from above the anicut at Jobra and gives off the Machgaon branch at Biribati.

Along with these waterways roads were also opened up during the later part of the 19th. century to provide Cuttack with the means of internal communication. The Jagannath Trunk Road which runs from Midnapore to Ganjam via Cuttack was, no doubt, completed long before the great famine of 185—66, and the Cuttack-Sambalpur Road which was in working condition during the days of the Marhattas was improved and widened after the British occupation. The other important roads opened up after the famine are the Cuttack-Chandbali road which runs via Kendrapara, the Cuttack Taldanda Road, which links up Cuttack with False Point, the Kandarpur Machgaon Road which carries heavy traffic in grain, the Phulnakhara-Madhav Road which is also extended upto Puri, and the Cuttack Sonepur Road which runs along the Mahanadi valley via Banki.

The Railway line of the B. N. R. was constructed through the coastal region of Orissa as a post famine measure and it was opened in the year 1819. It connects Cuttack directly with Madras and Calcutta and provides enormous opportunities for trade and inland communication, thus creating facilities for the healthy growth of the township.

The Cuttack Municipality was constituted in 1876 with 30 members, 24—elected, 4 ex-officio and 2 nominated by the Government. The Municipal board took charge of lighting the town, of providing drinking water facilities, medical relief and public instruction at primary stage. The Municipality also took charge of a few mileage of road and it worked, although under great restrictions to develop Cuttack into a modern town.

There was great change in education in Cuttack after the British occupation. Under the Mughals and the Marhattas education in Orissa was completely neglected and because of the great mass of illiteracy this territory has been described by the early British Administrators as the Boetia of India. The Official language prior to the British occupation was Persian and in 1805 orders were passed that correspondence with the natives was to be done in Oriya as well as in Persian. Following this orders a number of Oriyas was appointed as muharrirs, but although they were much capable of writing on the palm leaf, they found good deal of difficulties in writing on paper with ordinary pens. The Magistrate of Cuttack in 1821 reports — “Scarcely a single real Oriya receives a salary more than Rs. 10/- per mensem, but several are naturalised Bengalis or Musalmans. I always give a preference to Oriyas, but at this moment I scarcely know a single Oriya possessing qualifications to fit him for being a common muharrir”.

The colossal illiteracy of the people and their obstinate aversion to learn in the modern system was a baffling problem in the early days of the British

rule. The missionaries at first laboured hard to open up Schools to impart education, but their attempts were not so successful until 1838 when the Government, seriously thought of opening modern schools in Orissa. That year an English and a Sanskrit school were established at Puri which, however, failed to make satisfactory progress. In 1841 the first Government English School was opened up in Cuttack and it slowly progressed as the High English School of Cuttack until the great famine of 1865-66. After the famine the then Commissioner T. E. Ravenshaw gave sympathetic attention to this institution and it was by his determined effort that this School was converted into a College with Intermediate teaching in 1868. Ten years after that it was raised to a first grade College with degree classes, and it was named after Mr. Ravenshaw, I. C. S. the Commissioner of Cuttack. The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, Krishna Chandra Bhanj Deo made a generous gift of Rs 25,000/- towards the maintenance of the College to which the law Department was subsequently added in 1881. The great new building of the College in Chakrachand Bazar with the Arts Block and the Science Block, including the Physics, Chemistry and Botany Laboratories and with a large play ground and Hindu and Muhammadan hostels was opened in 1921, and the Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo of Kanika opened in it the Kanika Library, while in 1921 the College was provided with electricity on a donation of one lakh of rupees by the late Maharaja Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo of Mayurbhanj.

The Orissa Medical School was established in 1875 following the establishment of the Cuttack General Hospital in 1874. In 1923 two new educational institutions were opened up in Cuttack, one is the Cuttack Training College for training the secondary school teachers and the other the Orissa School of Engineering, developed out of the Old Survey School, separated from the Ravenshaw College in 1915 and from the Government Workshop at Jobra,

Cuttack has all along been enjoying the unique privilege of being the administrative and the commercial nerve centre of Orissa. It was the seat of the Commissioner, Orissa Division till 1936, and with the formation of the Province of Orissa during that year it was exalted to be the headquarters of the new Province. The historic Lalbag Palace, which was being occupied by the Commissioner, became the Government House. It has been described by late R. C. Dutta, I. C. S. one time Commissioner of Orissa as the best Commissioner's residence so far as the natural setting is concerned. The State Government has selected Bhubaneswar situated at a distance of 18 miles from Cuttack, as its new capital in accordance with a plan of Greater Cuttack which idea had its inspirations from Dr H. K. Mahtab, the then Chief Minister of Orissa (Now Governor of Bombay). The whole Secretariat has not been shifted there and several Ministers and Secretaries still have their offices at Cuttack. The Commercial importance of Cuttack still continues unabated as it provides the only outlet for its rich hinterland namely the eastern ex-feudatory States and the coastal area of the district. The Utkal University and Ravenshaw College which is one of the oldest colleges of India, are located at Cuttack. This College provides teaching facilities upto the Post Graduate level in many subjects both in science and in humanities and with 6600 students and a teaching staff of more than 100 is a great educational centre. The college building is regarded as one of the best in Asia. Cuttack has also a few other Arts and Science Colleges (including a Women's College and several

professional institutions such as a Training College, Medical College, an Engineering School and a Veterinary College). This city is reputed all over the country for its exquisite and delicate filigree works, its artistic horn work and the fine and colourful textiles manufactured here. The town of Chaudwar on the other side of Mahanadi is fast developing into an industrial suburb of this city with its textile mills, the thermal station, Kalinga Tubes Limited and a proposed papermill. The State Government, which has taken over the municipality, has undertaken an extensive road-improvement programme, and the City with its population of 120,000 will soon develop into a really modern city. The State Government has also appointed a Planner for preparing a blueprint for the City's development. A stadium known as the Barabati Stadium erected in the famous *kila Maidan* near the Barabati fort is considered to be next in size and magnificence only to those in Bombay and Delhi over the whole of India. The High Court Building on the Kathjori is another impressive structure in the city.

Last, but not the least, but for the wonderful stone revetments constructed along the banks of the Mahanadi and Kathjuri about a thousand years ago by a monarch of the Kesari dynasty called Markat Kesari (according to tradition and the Madla Panji) Cuttack would have long ago been washed away by the devastating flood of these two rivers. It is true that successive Governments like these of the Mughals, the Marhattas, and the British have kept the stone embankments under repairs but alas! the stately palace of Malcanty which surprised Abul Fazl, Bruton and La Motte is no more. The nine storeyed palace and the fort walls have been destroyed by the British administrators. Some say that the nine storeyed palace was not really a palace of nine storeys but nine palaces built one after the other continuously.

Thus Cuttack is as it were a bridge linking together the past, present and future of Orissa. Its roots go deep to the hoary past, but unlike many of the old cities, it is not in decay or ruins. It is pulsating with a new life, and one can reasonably hope that with its increasing importance and under the fostering care of its people and the Government it will develop into one of the most attractive cities on the eastern coast of India. Borrowing a line of Lord Tennyson we may add that "the city built to music, was never built and will be built for ever".⁴⁴

[44. Lord Tennyson's *Gareth and Lynette* :

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SETTLEMENT OF KHOORDAH IN POOREE

Dated Calcutta the 13th May 1818.

From — W. Ewer, Commissioner
To

W. B. Bayley, Esq.,
Acting Chief-Secretary to Govt.

I have now the honour to submit my report as Commissioner for enquiring into the general state of the district of Cuttack.

A report on Cuttack affairs to supply the information required in the instructions from the Judicial and Territorial Departments and to do any justice to a subject at once so interesting and important, must necessarily embrace a vast extent and variety of matter.

I propose to divide my subject into three heads 1st, a consideration of the immediate causes of the late insurrection and of the extent to which it actually prevailed 2nd, a discussion of the general state of the district of Cuttack, the condition of its inhabitants, and their feelings towards the British Government; 3rd the suggestion of any measures and arrangements which may appear to me calculated to remove grievances complained of, and to promote the general welfare and prosperity of the district.

On the first head I have few new facts to adduce or illustrations to furnish in addition to those already brought to the notice of Government in the several letters and reports of May and June last from the local civil authorities, the Judge of Circuit Mr. Watson, and the Military Commissioner, Major General Sir Gabriel Martin-dell.

As, however, the actual extent of the insurrection, and the characters, situations, and motives of those who perpetrated or directed the outrages which produced so much alarm and confusion, do not appear to me to have been discriminated hitherto with sufficient accuracy, and the unfortunate events of last year have been in some of the documents alluded to above, represented as a consequence of general feelings of discontent and disaffection prevailing throughout the district, which only wanted opportunity to display themselves in acts of a rebellious nature, I think it right to state explicitly my opinion that whatever may have been the sufferings of the inhabitants of the Mogulbundee under the British Government the insurrection had, in fact, no connection whatever with their grievances and discontent. It took its rise in a portion of the district peculiarly and distinctly circumstanced; the seducing and mischievous example

Particularly in the report of Mr Watson 'It was easy to perceive (in the month of Feb, 1817 that if the people were

aggrieved, and that there was no want of inclination to throw off their allegiance whenever a favourable opportunity might occur." Mr. Watson never once mentions Khoordah or draws any distinction between the different circumstances of that country and the district at large. The inference from the above would necessarily be that the people of Cuttack generally had taken advantage of the opportunity afforded in April to rebel.

The testimony of all the Military officers employed in Khoordah, with whom I have conversed, is decisive on this point.

of temporarily successful opposition there exhibited, with its concomitant fruits, a rich harvest of plunder from the neighbouring estates, was shortly followed without any sufficient motive or provocation by the people of another extensive tract of country, the estate of Corjung, also in a predicament very different from that of the generality of estates, and inhabited by a race differing essentially in habits and character from the bulk of the native population of Cuttack. And amidst the alarm and confusion occasioned by these successive risings, a few of the dispossessed *Khundais* or proprietors of peculiar classes of estates in the *Mogulbunder* called the Killajaut Khoordas, took courage to assemble the *Paiks* still acknowledging their authority and indulge at once their ancient inveterate, but long restrained habits of depredation and their feelings of hatred toward the upstart foreign intruders who had gained possession of their hereditary *Jagheers* by burning and plundering *cutcherries* and villages in their neighbourhood.

The primary source of the deplorable occurrences of 1817 was undeniably the dispossession of Jughundoo from the estate of Killah Rorung. Accident appears to have determined the precise period, at which the long meditated design of rebellion was carried in execution, but the commanding and all powerful influence of the *Bukhshee* in Khoordah, and the miserable condition to which its whole population had become reduced by the complicated evils of long neglected management, excessive taxation, and unchecked oppression, secured to him at any time and under any circumstances ready agents and instruments of mischief. It would appear that in the beginning, independent of the marauders from the confines of Goomsur, he was followed only by the *Paiks* ranged under their respective *Dulbehras* and *Dullaees*; but their first partial successes against the detachments sent to quell the disturbances emboldened every ryot on the estate to join heartily and decidedly in the cause, and the feelings of the population of Khoordah towards the British Government became pointedly evinced in the sentiments of determined hatred, defiance, and hostility which long animated the whole majority.

It may well be presumed at the outset that the causes which occasioned the deterioration and destruction of Khoordah may have operated to produce similar effects elsewhere, and that the same fraudulent combination which originally deprived Jughundoo of his estate may have proved the ruin of other zemindars also. But whatever the condition of the district at large, it is clear to me that much of what has happened might still have occurred, had the *Mogulbunder* been for years past one of the best managed and most thriving portions of the Company's possessions. No attempt indeed was ever made by the leaders of the insurrection to render their cause popular amongst the inhabitants of the plain and open country or to gain their support and countenance in any way whatever, by inflaming their minds with representations of their wrongs and sufferings. On the contrary they plundered indiscriminately the houses of the ryots and of the zemindars, the *cutcherries* of the original Ooriah proprietors, as well as those of the upstart foreign purchasers. They knew

well that the timid, spiritless, imbecile unmanly ryots of the Mogulbundee could afford them no effectual aid and they probably judged rightly that the only way in which they could be rendered negatively subservient to their views was by establishing a system of terror, which should render them the quiet, unresisting victims of every petty marauding partly despatched to collect plunder and to spread confusion.

The rising in Khoordah was quite an isolated movement, prompted by despair, hatred, and a thirst for revenge on the part of Jugbundoo and the misery beyond endurance under which the people of Khoordah were sinking. The period of its occurrence appears to have been hastened and determined only accidentally and indirectly, by the irruption of the *Pindarees* into Ganjam. It is said that in January and February 1817 when the alarm of an invasion by those merciless freebooters was at its height in Cuttack, Churn Putnaik, the leading Surburakar in Khoordah, and from some cause or other the bitter foe of Jugbundoo, reported falsely to the Darogah that a messenger had reached the *Bukhshee* from the *Pindaree* camp, inviting him to favour and assist an incursion into the district, and that he had held communications with the *Dulbehras* on the subject. The *Darogah* immediately made an effort to seize his person, and was for sometime employed in the attempt. It was then that Jugbundoo stung by the sense of his sufferings and degradation and now further apprehensive for his immediate personal safety resolved to delay no longer the execution of the scheme of revenge over which he is said to have long brooded in sullen and silent desperation. Churn Putnaik fell an instant victim to the fury of the storm which he had thus contributed to raise. The first step taken by the rebels, after repelling the early movements against them was an attempt to place the Rajah of Khoordah at their head, well aware of the strength which his name would lend to their cause, and of the assistance they might hope, in the event of his restoration, to derive from the whole body of the Gurjat Chiefs, ranged under the banners of this fallen, but still revered, descendant and representative of their ancient native sovereigns. The visit of the rebels to Pooree, their language on the occasion, and some of their intercepted communications with different Gurjat Chiefs are sufficient evidence that, however wild and visionary, such was the plan rudely sketched out and imperfectly conceived by the first devisers of the rebellion. I have no doubt but that the first impulse to the rising in Ocojung was given by an invitation from Jugbundoo, and I have heard, from authority which I do not question that the Rajah of Kunka, in compliance with a similar invitation, went so far as to assemble the leading ryots on his estate, and to propose formally to them to take up arms against the British Government. The *Paiks* and ryots, however, replied that they had lived happily and unmolested under that Government, and were not anxious enough for change to run any risk in accomplishing it. The half-formed design was in consequence immediately relinquished, and the Rajah continued as before the most obedient and submissive of our subjects.

That the last Rajah of Khoordah ever favoured the designs of his rebellious servants, or was even previously acquainted

with them, not a particle of evidence is attainable. Whether or not the Gurjat Chiefs would in the event of his flight from Pooree, have espoused generally his cause must be a matter of mere and now unimportant conjecture. Their reverence for his name and authority are doubtless excessive. It is to be feared, also that although confirmed on the enjoyment of all their former great and valuable privileges, by the sound and liberal policy of the British Government, their feelings of respect and attachment to that Government are not such as might be reasonably expected in consequence. They have certainly been most unmercifully fleeced and plundered by the late *Sudder Amalah*, especially the Rajahs of Kunka and Coojung who from the situation of their estates were more immediately exposed to the withering and ruinous effects of their pernicious influence, and as large sums were taken in the name of the chief local British authority, the salutary and beneficial feelings of awe and respect, arising from an impression of lofty, unstained, incorruptible integrity and impartiality on the part of those placed immediately in authority over them, must have been somewhat weakened and destroyed.

Disturbances on the borders of Coojung followed almost immediately the events of April in Khoordah. These had their origin, I believe, more in the marauding and licentious spirit of the Coojung Paiks and population, the interested machinations of the two leading individuals and the excessive weakness and folly of the Rajah, than in any feelings of discontent and disaffection. Little encouragement and incitement could have been necessary to induce the Paiks of Coojung to rise in arms. They were always under the Marhatta Government remarkable for their turbulent and predatory conduct. Ever the scourge and terror of all the Mogulbundee estates in their neighbourhood, security from their continued inroads and depredations was only to be purchased by the payment of a regular tax to the Rajah of the nature denominated "*Maugun Khunday*," or by grants of land in commutation of all demands. A celebrated writer on Indian Statistics and Finance designated this territory, with reference of course the lawless habits of its people, "the pirate state of Coojung." The strong arm of the British Government had for years repressed their depredations both by sea and land, but generations must pass away before the disposition be wholly obliterated, and it is not surprising that on the temporary removal of that moral restraint which had so long operated upon them that ferocious and uncivilized class should have hastened almost spontaneously to reap the rich harvest of plunder from which they had been for years debarred. But the orders and exhortations of Chiefs to whom they were blindly devoted were not wanting to give an end and object to their rebellious proceedings besides that of mere plunder. I believe that the Rajah, influenced partly by an invitation from Jugbundoo, was weak enough, in an evil hour and in the absence of all his better advisers, to lend his sanction to their excesses. At all events he evinced no disapprobation of, nor made the slightest effort to check them, whilst the two brothers, Bam leeb Patjoo ee and Narayan Purrumgooroo, former servants of the Raj of Coojungs, who under preceding Rajahs had held respectively the

This is the tax supposed in Regulation XII 1805, to have been allowed to certain Khundays as a remuneration for the performance of the Police duties within the Mogulbundee. A passage from the letter of the Collector to the address of the Secretary to the Commissioners illustrates

offices of Dewan and Bukhsheo of Paiks, and who, although fallen from their former honours and emoluments, and disgraced by recent merited imprisonment in the jail of Cuttaok, still retained powerful influence placed themselves decidedly at the head of a large party and were understood to act in conformity with the will and orders of their weak and imbecile Chief. In whatever ways the rebellion broke into a series of desultory predatory incursions without design or object, and without any further communication with the rebels of Khoordah, and from May to September when the force under Captain Kennett so happily quelled the disturbances in that quarter, the proceedings of the people of Coojung were those of dacoits rather than of rebels fostered by long impunity, and attended, with results too profitable to be checked by any common energy or decision of character. It is remarkable that so far from any peculiar enmity towards the British Government or its native officers being evinced by the Coojung rebels, some of the Salt *Amlah* and *Chuprassies*, the *Moonsif* of Teerun, and several of the Thana *burkundazes* were for sometime in their hands, but received not the slightest injury.

A third class of rebels remains to be considered the dispossessed proprietors or *Khundait* of certain estates in the Mogulbundee, whose depredations contributed greatly to increase the general anxiety and apprehension. I shall have occasion to describe the predicament of these zamindars, more particularly in a subsequent part of my report. It suffices to observe at present that under former Governments besides the countries occupied by the present Gurjat tributaries, there were numerous smaller estates denominated *gurhs* or *killahs*, situated chiefly on the sea coast between Coojung and Juggernaut which were held at a quit rent by chiefs denominated *khundait*s or *Gurjat Khundait*s. The proprietors of these like their more powerful neighbours of Aul, Kunka and Coojung paid only a light peshcush and their hands of Paiks, and were liable to be called on to perform military service. Their numbers and strength would appear to have diminished greatly under the Mahrattas, who made it an object of policy to reduce them by slow degrees to the condition of common zamindars. The Collector's records exhibit a list of upwards of fifty estates still bearing the name of *Killah* besides the regular Gurjats; but very few of these had preserved their privilege of paying only a quit rent up to the time of the British conquest. At least the right was recognized only in three of the principal ones by the British regulations, the Killahs of Hurrispoor, Murrithpoor, and Bishenpoor. Notwithstanding the peculiar advantages enjoyed by the *Khundait* proprietors of the valuable estates in question, which, although affording the shelter of many a deep and almost impenetrable jungle, contain much well-cultivated and productive land whose rude and ignorant zamindars proved unequal to the payment of the small and inadequate sums assessed on them, and their lands passed by public or private sale into the hands of strangers or foreigners. The loss of their former consequence and independence, although entirely the consequence of their own excessive folly and improvidence of that proverbial degree of gross and infatuated ignorance and barbarism which almost render the Gurjats unfitted for any of the laws by

this... From the Umlee year 1150 to 1220 the Rajahs of Coojung have at various times made incursions into the neighbouring pergunnahs and forcibly dispossessed the zamindars of portions of their estates. In the first instance they used to demand sums of money as mangun &c., and any zamindar refusing to pay the demand was seized and placed under restraint till they agreed to execute *qubalus* to the Rajah for certain portions in liquidation of his demands.

The Zamindars frequently applied to the Mahratta Government for redress and in some instances were again put in possession of the lands thus forcibly wrested from them; but, generally speaking, this conduct of the Rajahs was passed over in silence, they no doubt pacifying the

Government
by occasional
donations "

which civilized societies are ruled, naturally could not but render them discontented with the British Government, and the consign- ment of themselves and their former subjects to a management which I hesitate not to pronounce the most galling and ruinous of all, to those placed under it in Cuttack—that of the Bengalee agents of Beg lee non-resident proprietors, would of course aggravate the bitterness of feeling necessarily springing from thier fallen and altered condition. The dispossessed *Khundait*s of the principal of these *Killahs*, Muddoo Sootun Mungraj of Hurrispoor (since apprehended and subsequently dead); appears to have cooperated actively in the general cause and to have done much mischief. The petty depredations of the ejected *Khundait* of other estate increase confusion; but the character of their proceedings was greatly exaggerated in the reports of terrified police *Darogahs*, and the interested representations of some of the large zemindars, when they were said to have formally thrown off their allegiance to the British Government, to have dispossessed the new proprietors and taken forcible possession of their old estates. The utmost extent of their overt acts of rebellion appears to me to have been the commission of sundry petty depredations to which the state of the times afforded irresistible temptation and the unprotected *cutcherries* of zemindars in their neighbourhood naturally presented themselves as the first object of plunder. I much doubt whether one of these, the *Khundait* of Gohah, whose name acquired celebrity as a formidable and notorious rebel, was ever guilty of any one act of rebellion or plunder whatever; and I believe his character as such to have originated entirely in the insidious statements of a *Ghosayun* adventurer who had gained temporary possession of his estate by illegal and fraudulent means, and artfully seized on the opportunity offered by the suspicion attaching to all *Khundait* at the time to complete the ruin of the man whom he had already so deeply injured.*

The *Khundait* in question was pardoned for his real or supposed offences under the amnesty proclaimed by the late Magistrate in August. The Acting Judge has commenced summary enquiry into Sookla's right of possession, and the estate is held under attachment until the decision of the suit.

I have now gone through the three distinct classes of rebels against the authority of the British Government. It is essential to mark that no one zemindar, ryot, or inhabitant of whatever description of the Mogulbundee, properly so termed, had any concern whatever with the insurrection.

The above observations may serve to show the limited extent after all to which the spirit of insurrection prevailed, and its total want of connection with any state of feeling existing amongst the inhabitants of the district at large who, as far as they were at all concerned by the occurrence, were sufferers by, and not participators in the deliberate opinion that it had its origin in the wrongs of an individual of rank and consequence in the district, exercising his powerful influence over the minds of a people reduced by long suffering and oppression to a conditions of extreme and desperate wretchedness, and it is my duty to state fully the grounds on which such an opinion of the real causes of the rebellion rests. The endeavour to evolve these naturally divides itself into two branches, a slight sketch of the particulars of Jugbundoo's case and, a detailed consideration of the state of Khoordah, for some years passed under the British administration.

Jugbundoo Bidiadhur Mahapatur Bhowarbur Roy, as is well known, inherited from his ancestors the office of Bukhshee or Commander of the Military of the Rajah of Khoordah, second only to the Rajah in rank and authority, and possessing perhaps more real power than his master. From his unbounded influence over the military of the country he was looked up to by all the Gurjat Chiefs as well as the natives of the plains, next to the representative of their ancient native princes, and was allied by marriage to two of the former, the Rajah of Shergurh on the Goomsur frontier, and the Rajah of Burrumbah, one of the Cuttack tributaries. Besides *jagheers* and various perquisites attaching to the important office of *Bukhshee*, the family of Jugbundoo had been enriched for many generations by the possession of the valuable estate of Killah Rorung, acquired as it would seem by purchase,* which was held at a very low quit rent, and indeed was one of the smaller killahs adverted to in paragraph 11. The rumour of the confiscation of this estate by the Mahratta Government previous to the conquest of the province, which seems to have first come to the knowledge of the Revenue Authorities in 1814, was, I am satisfied, wholly unfounded. It clearly to my apprehension was in the possession of the family of Jugbundo at the time of the cession of Cuttack by the Rajah of Berar, but some doubt may exist whether the better right of possession vested in Jugbundoo or a cousin, the nephew of an uncle, the common guardian of both, who now comes forward to claim it.

*Vide letter of Mr. Trover's on record in the Collector's Office, on this subject,

The *Bukhshee* of Khoordah was one of the first to offer submission to Colonel Harcourt at the end of 1803 and the settlement of Killah Rorung was made with him for the first year of the British administration of the affairs of the province. I do not understand that Jugbundoo had any concern in the rash and ill-advised rebellion of the Rajah of Khoordah at the end of 1804. A passage in a letter on record of Mr. Groome's would seem to show that he was absent somewhere when that gentleman was engaged in making the first regular settlement of the land revenue of the Southern Division of the district for 1804-5 and at the same time evidences a total miscomprehension of the real rank and situation of the man and the nature of his claims to the estate. The passage alluded to is this:—"The Killahs of Koklo and Rorung are at present under tahsildars, and no settlement can be concluded for them agreeably to the instructions. There are no Moquddums or Purdhans belonging to them and they were held by Dulbebras, who were Sirdar Paiks on the part of the late Rajah of Khoordah in lieu of wages." Still, however, the kabuliyats forthcoming in the Collector's office evince that the settlement was concluded for this year, 1804-5, with Jugbundoo as *Zemindar*, and that in the following year he was allowed to enter into engagement for Mr. Webb's triennial settlement.

An opulent Bengali Baboo, named Kishan Chunder Sing was the *dewan* of the first Collector, Mr Groome, but resigned on Mr. Webb's accession to the office in 1805-1806. His relation and dependent, Chunder Persad Sing, of course another native of Bengal, became then *serishtadar*, and continued to hold that office untill 1811, when he was removed on charges of dishonesty and peculation.

A brother of this man named Gourhurry Sing, was Tehsildar at Pooree from 1804-5, at least until 1809-10, where he was placed to superintend the collections of certain *Khas Mehals*, and as matter of convenience and accommodation, to receive the *kists* from any Zemindars who, although under *huzoor Tehsil*, might prefer paying into the Tehsildar's treasury in their immediate neighbourhood, to that of the Collector at a distance of 40 or 50 miles. The scheme of dispossessing Jugbundoo from his estate must have been founded very early in the Collector's office in communication with Kishen Chunder Sing, who although no longer *dewan*, continued to reside in Cuttack. To explain the drift of all the deep laid villainy practised towards this unfortunate man, it should be observed that the *dewan* appears to have meditated the aggrandizement of his name and family by acquiring the Zemindari rights of several large and valuable *pergunnahs* in the southern division of the district, including the sacred town of Pursoottam Chutter, which having been formerly wrested by the Mahratta Government from the Rajahs of Khoordah, were claimed by no proprietors on our acquisition of the country, and held as *Khas Mehals*, were considered an awkward incumbrance and an exception to the general system, which the Revenue authorities were naturally anxious to get rid of, by selling them to some man of substance. The *Amlahs*, were probably themselves the first suggestors of the measure of which they intended to take advantage. The *Killah* of Rorung although no longer held at a *peshcush*, was still lightly assessed and a very valuable estate. It adjoins *Pergunnah Rahunug*, one of the *Mehals* above mentioned, in the immediate vicinity of Pooree and besides the temptation afforded by the consideration of its own intrinsic value, was doubtless viewed with a covetous eye by the crafty, designing Bengali, as an interloping nook, the possession of which was necessary to the completeness and compactness of the estate upon which his views were fixed.

It is stated in a letter of Mr. Trower's (dated 25th. August 1813) that in the second year of Mr. Webb's triennial settlement Chunder Persad Sing insidiously pointed out to Jugbundoo the expediency of paying his revenue into the hands of the Tehsildar at Pooree instead of into the Collector's treasury. Jugbundoo falling into the snare, the first step towards his ruin was thus accomplished. It was now easy for the Tehsildar to represent in his accounts the collections of Rorung belonging to *Pergunnah Rahunug*, made from Jugbundoo as *surburakar*, a term of doubtful import in this district, which is applied both to Zemindars and to those *moquddums* with whom temporary settlements are made in the absence of any acknowledged proprietor.

In 1807, after much correspondence about the *Khas Mehals* in Cuttack, a proposal was submitted to the Board by the Collector for the farming of *Pergunnah Seeraeen*, *Chowbeesood*, and *Rahunug*, which now for the first time in the English correspondence from the Collector's office was termed *Pergunnah Rahunug &c.* The farm was accordingly taken for the year 1215 by Lukmee Narayan, a creature of Chunder Persad Sing's, who was the real farmer, and in the year (1216) by another instrument of the same

crafty and corrupt set. At the end of 1216 (i. e. in 1809-10 Pergunnahs, Seeraeen and Cowbeesood, with Pergunnah Rahung "Oghyreh" were exposed for sale, and purchased by Kishen Chunder Sing who paid highly for them as lands then sold, and the new estate was designated by this arrogant and nefarious upstart, the Zemindari of Pursootum Chutter. It appears clearly from a letter of Mr. Trower's on the subject of the annexation of Killah Rorung to Rahung, that the Jumma of the former was added to that of the latter, i. e. the Sudder Jumma of Rahung about Rs. 24,700 was increased by that of Rorung Rs. 2,300 and was advertized as Pergunna Rahung &c., for Rs. 28,000 that no list of Mouzahs and Mehals was detailed specifically in the *Ishtiharnamah*, but a separate statement of particulars was made out in the Collector's office and introduced into the byenamah, and under the artful and significant "Oghyreh Killah Rorung and some Mehals, called Dewan Bar, Bukhshee Bar, &c. (concerning which much has been written by different Collectors), were formally included, as they had been farmed in the two preceding years under the head of the same, &c.. I have not been able to satisfy myself as to whom the Jumma of Rorung was paid in 1215. when it had been thus shamefully and collusively let in farm, notwithstanding the acknowledged proprietor's engagements for the triennial settlement were yet unexpired neither in the subsequent year 1216. It probably suited the views of the ex-Dewan to abstain from interfering with the estate during the first year, and the Jumma being paid to the tehsildar, the brother of the *Seristadar*, in this way Jugbundoo might have been prevented from knowing the truth, and the farmer saved from any loss. In a petition presented by Jugbundoo to Mr. Richardson in 1813 (translation of which I have the honour to annex) he declares that he paid the revenues of 1214 and 1215 into the hands of Gour Hurree Sing, Tehsildar, that in 1216 he was absent from his home, and that in some way or other Rorung became included in the farm of Rahung, but he declares that his agents, instead of paying to the former, deposited the amount of the Jumma in the hands of Rajah Mukoond Deo, from whom they obtained a receipt. When the people of Krishen Chunder Sing attempted to take possession after the sale, Jugbundoo violently resisted, a riot ensued, petitions were brought before the Commissioner, Mr. Buller, who referred them for a report to the Collector, Mr. Mitford, when the *Shristadar*, Chunder Persad Sing, doubtless prevented the truth from being made known but such was the effect of the opposition, that the new purchasers were unable for a long time to obtain complete possession. Jugbundoo actually let the estate in farm for the three years of Mr. Buller's settlement to Deep Chund, the Record-keeper of the Dewanny Court. This man subsequently tore the pottah which he received from Jugbundoo, and took a new one from Kishen Chunder Singh, but it was probably thought expedient to pacify the rightful proprietor for some time longer by paying him his *Malikana*.

Vide Mr.
Trower's letter dt Aug-
ust 25th.
1813.

It is singular fact that about the time of the sale of Rorung as forming a part of Rahung and having no proprietor a regular suit in the Civil Court had just been decided by the filing of a *hissehnamah*, in which Jugbundoo and his cousin, Gudadhur Bidiadur, agreed to divide the Zemindari of Killah Rorung in the proportion of ten and six annas.

So little indeed was the zemindari right of Jugbundoo ever questioned that in 1811, long after the sale, when that person had occasion to come before the Collector, Mr. Scott Waring, he styled himself zemindar and is called by that gentleman in a letter to the Board the proprietor of Killah Rorung.

In 1813 the agents of Kishen Chunder Singh, feeling that the plot was now matured, boldly stood forward to enter into engagements for Killah Rorung as a part of their purchase. It was then that Jugbundoo, now on the point of being wholly ousted, presented the petition before alluded to, which occasioned an investigation into his case. The point was proved beyond a question that the annexation was a fraudulent one. And a separation of the two estates was ordered, but it being represented that the original right, of Jugbundoo was questionable the well known and much to be regretted order of Government was passed (June 1814), forbidding engagements to be taken from him "until he should have established a title to the lands in the regular course of law, or at least have satisfied the Revenue authorities that he had strong presumptive right to the property." I may here observe that I can discover no foundation whatever for the allegation that Jugbundoo ever gave in to the intrigue which finally deprived him of his property with the view of defrauding Government. No one, in fact, ever intended that Government, should be losers by the fraud, the object of which was exclusively to gain possession of a valuable and convenient estate at a very inadequate price. A suit is, in fact, at present pending against the Government in the court of appeal for recovery of possession by the agent of Kishen Chunder Singh, who contend, and rightly, that they paid for Rorung as well as Rahung, and the issue is very doubtful.

When the final orders of Government were known on the subject, the complaints of Jugbundoo were loud and vehement, and his language is said to have been almost threatening. Being shortly driven from the miserable pittance still allowed him by the late farmer, viz., a small portion of *Khoodkasht* lands by the perfidy and cruelty of his former agent, Jugbundoo Putnaik, now the farmer of the estate, who had certainly been concerned in the intrigues against him, and whom he made one of his first victims, he became, in fact, a beggar, and for nearly two years derived his maintenance from the voluntary contributions made by the people of Khoordah for his support. His time was chiefly spent in wandering over the scenes of his former consequence and authority. Even in his then fallen condition he continued to cling to those Insignia of State to which his rank and titles as a principal servant of the Rajah of Khoordah entitled him, and although a beggar, was constantly attended by a rugged tribe of followers bearing staffs, *merchuls*, *punkahs* &c. This mode of life, although the particulars of his case were well known and much spoken of amongst the natives excited no attention or suspicion until the report of Churn Putnaik to the *Darogah*. The present *Darogah* who at that time held a situation under the tehsildar of Khoordah, had often seen him wandering about in the style above described, and in the course of conversation advised him to institute

a suit as directed for the recovery of his estate, to which he ever testified an invincible repugnance, pleading his want of means, the degradation of suing as a pauper, and the uncertainty and inutility of any reference to the court by an Ooriah, when a rich Bengali was to be the defendant.

The above attempt to unravel the tissue of frauds and inadvertence, which drove Jugbundoo into rebellion can be of little service at the present period ; but it may not be wholly uninteresting as placing on the records of Government all that can now be collected respecting the real case of a man whose name has acquired, and will long retain, such an unfortunate celebrity in this district.

An enquiry into the condition of Khoordah previous to the late insurrection is obviously of essential importance.

The territory attached to Killah Khoordah was at the time of the conquest of the province by the British arms all that remained of the possessions of his ancestors to Rajah Mukund Deo, the representative of the ancient line of sovereigns who ruled over the whole of Orissa previous to the Mogul conquest in 1598 A. D. Although inhabited by a race more rude and uncivilized even than their neighbours in the plains, and forming a part of the generally wild and unproductive tract denominated "*Rajwareh*," it was evidently even as late as 1804., populous and, in many parts, well cultivated country. In latter ages it must have much declined from its ancient state of opulence and civilization, when the magnificent temples, tanks, and other public works were constructed, which now only serve by their ruin to commemorate a happier and more flourishing era in the history of the country, and to contrast in a striking and melancholy manner with the present state of its semi barbarous population. Its inhabitants, however, so far as their condition can be traced, to have lived always in ease and contentment under the Government of their native princes. The regular assessment required from the ryots appears to have been singularly light and inconsiderable, seldom exceeding a sum equivalent to five annas per *begaha*. They were, besides, required to offer, and probably of their own free will presented, on certain great occasions, *nuzzuranahs* to their rajah ; and under an Oriental despotism it is not to be supposed that they were wholly free from occasional exaction and oppression, on the part of the *jayheerdars* and village officers placed immediately over them ; but the impression left in my mind by all the information I have collected is that their regular authorized burdens were fixed at an extremely low scale, well adapted to the general poverty of the country and the rudeness of the people, and prosperity of his ryots, and the freedom of approach and appeal to him at all times from the misconduct of inferior agents, afforded an effectual security and protection to the rights of that humble but most useful class of the society, which our more refined and enlightened mode of administration has wholly failed of accomplishing.

On the expulsion of Rajah Mukund Deo from Khoordah, in 1804 the country was subjected for two years to the management of

Major Fletcher, a Madras officer. That gentleman, having abundant sources of information at the time open to him, undertook a *husabod* of the whole estate, afterwards revised and completed by the first tehsildar, Collam Kadir, by which the capabilities of the district, the actual quantity of land in cultivation, the nature and value of the produce, and the amount of population, were ascertained with tolerable accuracy, and this is the only document of the kind existing in the Collector's office. The assessment of Major Fletcher and the first tehsildar, amounting to Rs. 1,01,000, or, on an average about $7\frac{1}{2}$ annas per begha, appears to have been moderate enough, although higher than that which the ryots had been accustomed to pay. The plan of settlement, however, as I shall have occasion more particularly to shew hereafter, unavoidably upset in a great degree the former system and institutions of the country, and was less favourable to the ryots than therefore. The *surburakars* before mere ministerial agents of the Government, became now a sort of farmers of the revenue, and all practical restraint being removed from them, it must be supposed that they would sometimes be guilty of abuses, in fact, the oppressive exactions of the *surburakars* have been urged as one cause of the ruin of Khoordah. In place of the mild, revered, and efficient authority of the Rajah was now substituted that of the Judge and Collector in Cuttack, to whom an ignorant inhabitant of Khoordah would seldom dream of appealing, and the unfeeling, tyrannical, and oppressive sway of a Mussulman Police *Darogah*.

The reason which determined this person's appointment to Khoordah instead of any other than of far less importance than them Vacant, is so curious as to deserve notice vide Mr. Sage's letter, dt. 12th Feb. 1813..... "I should have sent Miran Mendy to Arruckpore but that he was beaten by an officer when he was Darogah at Piply a thus between this and Pooree and as Arruckpore is on the high road from this to Calcutta I had every reason to suppose he might one day experience a similar kind of ill-treatment."

From 1212 to 1216 an increase of about Rs. 10,000 was made to the *jumma*. Matters, however, appear to have gone on quietly excepting that a difficulty was experienced in realizing the augmented amount of assessment, and increasing balance appear to have followed increasing demand. In 1217 the estate was let in farm for 10 years to a Bengalee adventurer, named Shamanund Raee. From that inauspicious era all concur in dating the commencement of the rapid deterioration of this unfortunate country. Such was the rapacity of this unprincipled speculator, that he is said to have nominally doubled the musfusal jumma. It was of course impossible to collect anything like this amount, but his extortions were such as to have left a lasting impression of horror on the minds of the people of Khoordah at the very name of *Mustajir*. His conduct speedily met with its proper punishment. Many of the ryots fled the district and being unable to make good his engagements even to the end of the second year, he failed, was thrown into jail, and his own and his security's property disposed of by sale. Upon his removal most of the ryots returned to their homes and Khoordah might again have begun to held up its head, when a fresh curse lighted upon it in the appointment of Mirza Mendy to the situation of Police Darogah, who had just been driven from Pooree by the clamorous and tumultuous representations of a large part of its inhabitants, who declared that if they could not be relieved from his tyranny by application to the local authorities, they would proceed in a body to Calcutta to petition council. I am sceptical as to the amount extorted by this man from the people of the Khoordah and his costly style of living might be explained by reference to the value of his numerous estates, and the extent of his commercial concerns, without supposing him to

have realized a fortune in so poor and exhausted a country. But as an evidence of the merciless system of exaction laid down by him, and adhered to as far as practicable, I beg leave to adjoin the accompanying extracts from depositions taken on oath before the Joint Magistrate, (vide appendix No. 3)

a Jagheer of 1 aahgurh estimated at Rs. 1,000 was Major Fletcher's assessment, but subsequently alienated.

The Jumma also of 1219 stood as high as Rs. 1,15,834 or about Rs. 21,000 beyond that of Major Fletcher. The combined effects of progressively increasing taxations of Police and Revenue Officers, practised immediately upon the *surburakars* and visited by them with twofold force upon the *ryots*, had produced the pitiable and declining condition of the estate which attracted Mr. Trower's notice in 1813, was well and forcibly depicted by him in a letter to the Commissioner, dated 2nd November 1813 and represented by that gentleman to the Govt. It did not occur, however to anyone to recommend the application of the axe to the root of one most prolific source of evil, the amount of the Government assessment. On the contrary, it was raised in 1222 to Rs. 1,19,555 and what would appear hardly credible, to Rs. 1,38,274, in 1223, a sum in silver Rs. 44,000 above the *jumma* of Major Fletcher fixed on a *hust-hood* ascertainment of the resources of the country (nothing of which kind was ever subsequently attempted at a time when it had come from the hands of its former possessors in a comparatively thriving and flourishing condition, and which I do not scruple to assert, from the unfortunate state of the currency and the reduced price of produce compared with silver in Khoordha at least) was equivalent in its oppressive weight on the cultivators of the soil to twice the *jumma* of 1219.

Mr. Trower's language is sufficiently unserved and expressive: — "It appears evident that a system of extreme tyranny, violence and oppression has existed; which has proved ruinous to the once flourishing country by the destruction of a very great proportion of the cultivators of the soil. I am concerned to state, too, that this system is to be dated from the conquest of Khoordah by the British troops. The *ryots* from the treatment they have experienced are become extremely miserable in their condition, and being naturally of rather an independent disposition, they kindle at the least

With regard to the misconduct of Mirza Mendy it appeared to Government when reported by Mr. Richardson "that the powers possessed by the Acting Magistrate were fully sufficient to enable him to punish the *Darogah* if actually, or to prevent similar offences in future." The Magistrate, however, did not exercise the power he possessed, and the exactions of the police continued the same as before.

The extension of the salt monopoly in 1814 to the Southern Division of the district must of course have increased the misery of this unhappy people by trenching materially upon their consumption of an article of almost indispensable necessity, with the free use of which they had till then been indulged, and by depriving many of the *ryots* of the petty, but profitable, traffic which they had before driven in purchasing salt at very low rate at the place of manufacture, which they carried into the countries of their *Gurjhat* neighbours, where they received an ample and lucrative remuneration.

It is now well known and generally admitted that, previous to the insurrection, Khoordah was becoming strikingly and visibly depopulated. At least from 5,000 to 6,000 houses of *ryots* were deserted. The miserable remnant, after disposing of their little all, their clothes furniture, bullocks, cooking utensils, and sometimes

provocation. This later passage appears almost prophetic. It is to be observed in justice to Mr. Trower that his assessment for the year in question was lower than that of preceding years. The great augmentation took place during his absence at the Cape. The sentiments of that gentleman also regarding the impolicy and injustice of the assessment of 1223 are on record.

even their wives and children, existed of course in that state of desperate misery and irritation which well prepared them to rush blindly into the project of bettering their condition proposed to them by a leader of high and commanding influence. It is indeed only by a reference to the state of the people that we can understand the boldness and rashness which prompted them to be the first to rise in arms against the might and majesty of the British Government.

Patient and sober enquiry renders it now evident that the sums annually required from the people of Khoordah the Government demand, combined with the requisition of police officers and the peculations of Tehsildars, amounted often to sums nearly equal to the whole recorded produce of several divisions of the country. The difficulty of course occurs how so much was paid for so long, and still an inhabitant left on the estate. The original Jumma was probably a light and moderate one, and if adhered to the state of the country would prosper. It should be remembered that large arrears have always been outstanding that a large part of the collections of one year have always been made from the proceeds of the ensuing and that in the end more than the *Summa* of a whole year has been irrecoverably lost. It is admitted also that the ryots who did not fly existed almost in a condition of starvation. Without, however, being able to determine exactly how the people were able so long to furnish a large revenue to Government and its officers, and still protract a wretched existence, we cannot now refuse to credit that of which such an accumulation of irrefragable evidence exists, that Khoordah had become entirely ruined and half depopulated previous to the breaking out of the late insurrection.

Having thus endeavoured to lay before Government in a more detailed and connected manner than has hitherto been done, the real causes of the late disturbances and the extent to which rebellion prevailed, I proceed to the second head of my subjects.

This was one of the facts brought accidentally to my notice whilst in Khoordah.

It is certainly natural to suppose that the same causes which affected the prosperity of Khoordah under the British administration may have had operation more or less in the district at large, and it may safely be asserted that, if they had any real existence, the evils of oppression and exaction by the police officers, of heavy assessment, of loss to the ryot from the state of the currency, and of intolerable deprivation arising from the salt monopoly, combined and crowned with the wide spreading, incalculable mischief of pernicious witheril influence on the part of a corrupt and rapacious *Sudder Amlah*, perverting from their rights and institutions devised solely for the benefits of the people, and preventing abuse, however serious, from coming properly to the knowledge of the chief authorities would necessarily produce declining valence of discontent and disaffection towards the State. The prevalence of discontent and disaffection amongst their native subjects in Cuttack had been brought to the notice of the Government generally previous to the institution of the Commission of Enquiry, and the instructions from the Judicial Department point out as a chief duty of the Commis-

sioners, accurate investigation into the causes of this unpleasant state of feeling, whilst the Resolution of the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council in the Territorial Department enlarge upon the several questions connected with past and future revenue administration of the district which, in the course of such investigation, would naturally attract the particular attention of the Commissioners.

With the view of conducting successfully these important enquiries, I have devoted a large portion of my time to travelling over the whole *Zillah*, making it my peculiar business to invite the people to free and unreserved communication, and to receive all petitions of whatever nature, drawn up in the language most familiar and in the mode least expensive to them. It is scarcely necessary to observe that I was of course prepared to meet with much falsehood and exaggeration. It was not indeed to be supposed that a people who have undoubtedly suffered much, whether from their own faults or those of their rulers, should omit taking advantage of this their first opportunity for years past of conversing with the head authority of the district, and he, too, an officer understood to possess extraordinary powers for investigating and redressing grievances, to crowd into the picture of their condition as many distressing and reproachful features as possible with the view to secure a powerful impression.

I found the people in the district at large certainly apparently aggrieved and discontented, and the prominent subjects of complaint the exactions and injustice of the Bengali *amla*, the constant increase of assessment, the invariable refusal to grant any remissions on account of calamity of season, however serious, the hardship of paying the revenue in silver at the high rate of from six to seven *kahawuns* of cowries per rupee and the enhanced price and difficulty of procuring salt, whilst many minor grievances were frequently drawn in to swell the list particularly when great zemindars were the petitioners. The constant transfer of landed property by public and private sale was always spoken of with strong feelings of disgust, as a reproach to our system, and an irreparable calamity which has befallen the native population of Orissa. Those whom the British Regulations had created zemindars, or at least acknowledged as such, appear either to have been reduced on the sale of their lands to the condition of common ryots, or as *gomashtas* or dependent *talukdars* to have become converted into instruments of extortion under the new proprietors, from the helpless cultivators of the soil. I do not remember a single instance of complaint on the part of a ryot on the estate of an original proprietor against his zemindar, but those from ryots and *moquddums* on estates held in farm, or belonging to foreigners were numerous and distressing. The ryots generally described themselves and were so reduced to extreme poverty and misery by the operation of the causes above mentioned, and certainly the wretchedness of their garb and appearance, the ruined, roofless, straggling, filthy, deplorable aspect of most of their villages, coupled with the fact that desertions of late years into the Garjaut contries have been not uncommon, support in some degree their assertions of great actual, if not comparative, penury and misery. Many of the ryots complained of their zemindars having

constantly increased the rate per *beegha*, so as even to double, it, whilst the zemindars again asserted that the assessment has been continually raised on them without any reference to their resources, and that it is the Revenue authorities and not they who have augmented the *nerikk* of lands.

If one could venture to draw an inference amidst jarring statements and contradictory facts, it ought perhaps to be that the pressure complained of originates with the Government, that it descends with accumulated force upon the ryots, whom it first crushes, and then the primary sources of wealth and revenue being destroyed reacts with the most ruinous consequences upon the improvident and unfeeling zemindar.

I must however, make large deductions for exaggerated overcharge statements and false representations upon every point, and I by no means intend to offer the above as a strictly correct picture of the condition of the district, although I think the reality far from favourable or creditable to our system of administration. Amidst all the complaints resolvable into heavy taxation, and the certainly wretched, indigent appearance of the bulk of the native population and of their habitations it was consolatory to observe that the rice cultivation is extremely fine and flourishing throughout the district, and I discerned no striking symptoms of a decrease of agricultural industry, a fact which may be allowed to weigh much against interested clamour and general inferences always liable to error. I was happy to have looked in vain for those dreary barren wastes which have been said to constitute upwards of one half of the district, and I certainly should not be inclined to allow a less proportion of the whole area of Cuttack for land under cultivation than in any other part of our possessions, with the exception of some of those districts of Bengal and Behar peculiarly distinguished for richness and fertility.

particularly
Mr. Watson's report.

Although in general less vehemently complained of than the grievances of a revenue nature, specified above, it was impossible not to discover in the course of conversation with the people, that a regular system of exaction and extortion existed on the part of the former police officers of the nature of those before detailed in paragraph 27, and that the Moonsifs were to the last degree venal and corrupt. I could not but be struck also with the utter hopeless ignorance of the British system principles, and character of our laws and regulations, and of the regular modes of proceeding in our courts, evinced by the Oriah the total want of confidence either in the power, or inclination, or both, of the civil authorities to enter into their cases and redress their wrongs, and their evident dread and mistrust of the *Adwalut*. I am persuaded that many of the natives think that the Maharatta Government, with its entire absence of system, was better adapted to the state of society in which they exist than the British Government with its enlightened, humane and refined one. They seem unconscious of any particular benefits which have resulted to them from the operation of the British law and regulations, whilst it is very apparent that they have increased the assessment, required payment of the revenue in silver instead of

cowries. augmented the price of salt to six times its former rate, and dispossessed upwards of two thirds of the original native proprietors from their estates. The people of the interior seemed also to have thought all applications to the court vain and fruitless of late years, unless besides the legal, authorized, overwhelming expense of stamp paper, fees, &c, they could further produce a considerable sum to purchase the favour or at least the forbearance of the *Sudder Amlah*.

Nor is the above state of feeling and information difficult to account for. In the first place the state of intellectual acquirement amongst the Oriahs is far below that of any other people in India. Their ignorance and stupidity are indeed almost proverbial and they do not hesitate to acknowledge their own inferiority in intellect and comprehension to their more highly gifted neighbours. Those European officers to whom the management of the district was first entrusted when it passed from the Mahratta to the Company's Government, seem to have contemplated with wonder and dismay the excessive ignorance and incivilization of the people amongst whom they were introducing a new system of laws. Mr. Ker observes in one of his letters on record : "Such is the gross ignorance of the landholders in Cuttack that the best amongst them are decidedly inferior in point of intellect and information to the lowest order of the same class in Bengal", and in another he describes the people of Khoordah as "sunk in the most abject state of human degradation and intellectual and corporeal imbecility." I can safely offer from my own observations that this character of the Oorish understanding is not an overcharged one, and that it still applies with equal force to the great mass of the population as when Mr. Ker wrote. It is evident that this low state of mental intelligence and endowment must ever present most formidable obstacles to the success of any scheme of good Government that could be devised. But hitherto the most simple and obvious means have not been tried of enlightening them with regard to the commonest enactments of our laws, whilst their practical effects have not always been such as to give them just and proper notions of their general scope and tendency. It will readily be credited that few amongst so illiterate people have any knowledge whatever of Persian. The dialect of Bengal is perhaps, equally unfamiliar to the inhabitants of the interior. But translation of the regulations exist only in the Persian and the Bengalee languages. Not a single regulation has ever been translated into the great vernacular language of the Province, and the means elsewhere adopted of imparting some knowledge to the people of the laws by which they are governed, distributing copies at every *Thana* and *Mofussil cutcherry* have here either never been resorted to, or, if followed, would of course have been nugatory from the contents being locked up in languages wholly unknown to the bulk of the people.

An almost systematic exclusion also of the genuine Hindoo natives of Orissa from every situation about the Courts in the Police, in the Revenue and Salt Departments, has prevailed from the very beginning. After a whole race having been thus long proscribed and thrown into the background, it may well be supposed that at

the distance of 14 years the utmost difficulty is now experienced in procuring men tolerably qualified for any of the higher and more important posts and the Acting and Joint Magistrates have as yet been unable to select any of those brought up in the district for the situations to which they certainly possess the best claim. But, at the time of our first acquisition of the province, a complete body of Ooriah native officers accustomed to conduct business (in a manner it is true, widely different from that about to be introduced), existed ready formed for our purpose. The *aumils* mostly, the numerous *tehdars* under them the *dewan* and the *senishla* were native Ooriahs and from amongst that number, some surely might have been selected qualified to fill the secondary posts whilst undergoing a course of training for the most important ones afterwards. Besides, the descendants of the foreign families who have settled in the province during the two last centuries, both Hindoos and Mussulmans are not inferior in intellect and intelligence to the inhabitants of other provinces.

I do not introduce the above remark with the view of reproaching any of my predecessors. I am well aware how much may be urged in explanation of the oversight, on the grounds of the incapacity of an Ooriah *amlah*, and the necessity of having able and well trained instruments to introduce a new system amongst such a people.

I must be permitted, however to lament the unproportions and, of course unforeseen consequences which have flowed from it. It has operated, I think, to degrade the people in their own estimation over a primary cause of deterioration of moral character to make them feel acutely the disadvantages of the condition of a conquered nation, when all not only offices of emolument but even every respectable mode of gaining a livelihood is taken from the educated classes and worse still it has widened in Cuttack the vast unmeasurable gulf which ever yawns between the European authority and the native subject whilst the ear and confidence of the former being possessed apparently by a set of foreign agents and advisers who came into the country possessing nothing but shortly rose on the ruin of the natives of the district to opulence and the enjoyment of immense property the undesirable impression has produced that the British Government view with peculiar favour its subjects from other provinces, and that the local authorities would always support their views, and promote their interests whatever the consequence to the suffering population of Cuttack.

43. The exclusion of the native Ooriahs from all offices of trust and respectability has also tended in a degree to check and confine the diffusion of a knowledge of our system. The information derived by the better educated and instructed classes employed in *sudder* and families and connections, and to those in whose society they resided, and must in time have produced their effect. At present all are alike ignorant and uninformed regarding the British laws, regulations, and system of government.

44. In illustration of the above observations I beg leave to annex a copy of a petition presented to me by a large body of the maintee or writer class of the people of Orissa.

45. A still more natural and sufficient cause for the feelings which I think the Oorians to have entertained regarding our courts might be found in the history, the conduct, the character of an Allee Zuman, a Mirza Mendy, a Sateb Zuman, and a Moulvie Salem Aller; and in a minute reference to the property and estates acquired during the last 12 years by the several dewans, *sherishdars*, *nazirs*, police and salt *darogha*, with a whole herd of inferior miscreants, dependent instruments, and parasites of these foremost leaders in the business of plunder and speculation.

46. After venturing those general remarks upon the feelings of the people relative to our courts of justice, I proceed to comment in detail on the various heads under which inhabitants of the interior class their chief grievances as connected with the Revenue Department, which are all evidently resolvable into complaints of excessive taxation.

47. It is necessary to advert, in the first place, to the amount of assessment which Cuttack is said to have paid under its former rulers, and to state accurately the several augmentations which have taken place at different periods under the British administration.

48. In the absence of any regular historical documents, it may be conjectured from various recorded facts and surviving monuments that Cuttack, at the time of the Mogul conquest, was in a vastly more flourishing and civilized condition than we now find the country. Its manufactures of cloth were equally celebrated and sought after with those of the neighbouring provinces of Beagal and Madras, and the establishment of four European factories at Balasore, about the middle of the 17th century, evince that at that period the trade of the province was a part of the country with which I am acquainted, in the number and style of its Hindoo sculptured temples, and of well-wrought statuary as well as in the occasional vestiges of bridges, palaces and other works of a similar nature, the attentive inquirer cannot fail to discern unquestionable evidences of a formerly highly cultivated state of some of the most important arts of civilized life. The amount of the revenues of the province under its first Mogul sovereigns corresponds with and confirms the above inference. They are indeed given at an amount which at first view startles and surprises. The Sircars of Bhuddruck and Cuttack, with part of Jelasir which comprise, the previous Mogulbundee, are assessed in the Ayeen Akbery at daums or about 35 lakhs of the *dus-mash h rupees*. The jumma however, is expressly stated to have been originally calculated, and mostly collected, in *cowries*, whence an explanation of the apparently high nominal amount may be deduced; for the original value of the current rupee of the day in Cuttack as in Sylhet, was only two *kakawun* four *pnus* of *cowries*, or about half that of the sicca rupee just previous to our conquest of the province. A given sum of *cowries* divided by 2-4

instead of 4-8 would of course yield twice the amount of silver currency or Rs. 34,000,000 of sorts instead of 17,00,000 sicca rupees. It is a curious fact that the old rupee, valued at two kahawuts four puns became in latter times a nominal coin called the Chowpune rupee, and the accounts of the Cuttack bazar were kept in this imaginary currency up to the conquest by the British arms.

49. Much of the land now alienated from the rent roll, under the Mogul Government probably paid its regular assessment. The value of produce, however, was then doubtless lower than at present and as there can be no reason to doubt the accuracy of the author of the *Ayeen Akbery*, we must suppose that the assessment of Akbar, confessedly a very light and moderate one, not exceeding one fourth of the value of the gross produce of the soil calculated in money according to one authority, or a third according to others, stood at a higher rate than that of the British Government after the province has been 14 years subject to the improved and enlightened system of British administration.

50. It is well known that the Soubeh of Cuttack was ceded to the Berar Mahrattas about 1748 A. D. by Aliverdi Khan, in communication of the chout or tribute of 12 Lakhs demanded by them from the provinces of Bengal, Behar Orissa.

51. Mr. J. Grant informs us that, owing to the ruinous effects of the Mahratta system the jumma of Cuttack had fallen to about Rs. 21,20,415 in 1768-69, further in subsequent years by the dismemberment of the remaining territory of the royal family of Orissa doubtless the Pergunnahs Rashung, Setacren, Chowbeesood, and the Satteshuzaree Mehals, about which so much has been written.

52. The same writer elsewhere observes that the district "yielded from a hustalood in the beginning of the present (18th) century Rs. 22,50,000 of sorts, including a net Jummaabund of Rs. 13,94,522 lately increased to 16 lakhs, of which one half is remitted as a yearly tribute to Modajee, after defraying the expense of military establishment of 5,00 horse, besides the ordinary subsidy and charges of Civil Government,

53. Making deductions from the above amount estimated in silver on account of the different value of cowries, and also from a consideration of the probable quantity of the land now rent free but then included in the jumma, we must still suppose the assessment to have been rather heavier at all former periods since the deposition of its native Rajahs than during the last 10 years of the Mahratta rule, as exhibited in the well known revenue papers given into Colonel Harcourt by Gopaul Pandit and Narinder Roy Mahashe. The natives at present when asked the amount of the Mahratta jumma of the whole province (including tributaries) say that the gross estimate was 15 lakhs of Arcot rupees but that the net receipts fell far short of this sum, as besides the large balances always outstanding expenses of collection, allowance to proprietors, &c., remissions of

account of calamity of season, and various other very considerable deductions were granted out of it. The Mahratta gross Jammabundi was in fact, inclusive of all allowances in money or land to Zemindar, or others expenses of collection. The best informed concur in stating that such were the expenses of the provincial Govt, that a surplus of four lakhs only remained to be remitted to the treasury at Nagpur which the Rajah latterly wished to increase to six.

54, The abstract statement of gross collections & for 10 years under Mahratta Government, included amongst other valuable documents annexed to Mr. Trower's report (copy of which is sub joined for convenience of reference), enables us to estimate accurately the amount of the Mahratta land revenue during the last years of their possession of the province, and to ascertain the precise increase levied by the British Government. It appears that the net amount of the land revenue was in the last years (much higher than any of the preceding) about Rs. 11,67,433 of sorts, or allowing batta at 8 per cent, 12,80,770 sicca rupees, including tribute from the Gurjhats. From the gross jumma, however, in this estimate are deducted the receipts from pergunnah Puttasporo, the jagheer of Malood, and several rent free villages no longer on the rent roll of the district.

Vide appendix No. 6.

To compare it accurately with the present jumma, should be deducted from the latter the amount of the jumma of Khoordah. The assessment of the province for 1223 stands at Rs. 15,20,409. from which Rs. 1,38,000 being subtracted leaves Rs. 13,82,409. The excess of this beyond, the Mahratta net jumma for the same extent of country (in 1210). or Rs. 10,80,770 is the precise increase under the British Government, or about three lakhs sicca rupees. I believe that several lands before held at a quit rent have been brought by us on the regular assessment, on which account some deduction should be made from the three lakhs; but, on the other hand, it should be considered that it is generally believed that many portions of land now held rent free on i valid tenures were on the Mahratta rent roll. The amount of sayer duties and a variety of small taxes denominated bazoo, rukum, amounting altogether to about a lakh of sicca rupees, and including the Balasore Custom House collections, averaging at a petty equable unvarying rate of Rs. 30,000 per annum, have been rejected from the account in considering the Mahratta assessment. The sayer duties, as is well known comprehended collections of all sorts and kinds, at hats, ferries, and bazars, on the transit of grain, salt, and every species of merchandize, which operated rather at a general tax on the consumer than as any particular burden on the landed interest. In estimating the different amount of taxation at different periods, the consequences of the salt monopoly should be set off against the trifling remissions allowed by the British Government on account of sayer, which I cannot consider as taking less than from five to six lakhs from the whole community in the shape of a tax on the consumption of the article more than they were before accustomed to pay, although but a portion of this goes into the treasury of Government. The grounds of this assertion I shall have occasion more distinctly to explain hereafter.

55. The assessment of the land revenue of the province on the first regular settlement by Messrs. Ker and Groome for 1804-5 amounted to 11,80,870 sicca rupees, inclusive of the tributaries, but exclusive of Khorlah, or nearly one lakh more than the net receipts of the Mahratta Government from the same extent of country during the two preceding years. The principle assumed, however, was that of taking the same as our predecessors had done, on an average of past years; deducting certain unauthorized abwads; and I do not understand the increase, unless it be explicable by reference to a circumstance stated in a letter from the Collector of the Northern Division dt. 18th April 1805) that he had included in his jumma Rs. 33,000 claimed as ikbrajat zemindari, now under a different system no longer incurred. In the subsequent year, and for the triennial settlement made by Mr. Webb the jumma of the above stood at 12,39,000 sicca rupees. Much of this increase was obtained by dividing the amount in cowries, at which the Mogul-bundee was assessed, by four according to the provisions of Regulation XII 1805 fixing the rate of conversion of cowries into siccas at four kuhawuns per rupee, instead of Rs. 4-2 as in the preceding year, by the instructions of the Commissioners.

file Mr.
Webb's lett-
er dt. 19th
May 1806.

56. The accompanying statement furnished by the Collector will show accurately the subsequent additions made by the Commissioners, Mr. Buller and Richardson.

57. The actual increase of the land assessment under the British Government being thus about three lakhs of sicca rupees, and the operation of the salt monopoly taking from the people, to say the least, from five to six lakhs, in effect, although not in name, as a tax on the consumption of the article, the fact is apparent that taxation has increased to a considerable amount since our acquisition of the province. It may be urged that large sums were always collected beyond the amount paid into the Mahratta treasury by the officers employed in collecting the revenues and administering the affairs of the interior. The fact doubtless was so but I imagine that the amount so exacted could not exceed very greatly the collections of our own police darogahs, of the dewans on the occasion of each renewal of the settlement, and of the sudder amlah whenever an opportunity offered.

58. It remains to be considered how far this increase of taxation can be deemed really burdensome and oppressive to the people, compared with what the province was accustomed to pay, in all ages and under all Governments whether the increasing opulence and cultivation of the district, its improving trade, and augmented capital have been rapid and considerable enough to keep pace with or precede the increased demand upon its resources, whether from the state of its currency for years past any inference can be drawn relative to the progressive, stationary or decreasing abundance of the signs of wealth in circulation, and particularly whether the amount of the assessment of the land revenue considered by itself can be justly deemed excessive.

59. I regret much that the discussion of a question of such vital importance, not only to the future prosperity, but even to the existence of the district, should have become the duty of one wholly unequal to do it justice, and little conversant with considerations of the nature which it must embrace. On this latter ground I must solicit particular indulgence for much of what is to follow, and I premise with observing that I am well aware the statements which I am about to submit cannot at all avail to determine the points at issue, although they may serve to throw some light upon them.

60. It may be interesting, and not altogether useless, to compare the assessment of this district with that of neighbouring countries just before their whole resources had been called into action by the incalculable benefits of a perpetual limitation of the public demand on them.

61. To accomplish this it will be necessary to determine, first with accuracy, the actual extent of the district in square miles, rejecting of course all consideration of the territories of the tributary hill chiefs.

A writer, whom I have before quoted, in his political survey of the Northern Sircars, observes, of Cuttack :— "This province, at the distance of 600 miles from the capital, Nagpore, extends along the sea coast in the Bay of Bengal, about 200 miles from Malood the northern boundary of Ganjam on the Chilka lake, to Pipley at the mouth of the Soobarnreka (the present limits of the Mogulbundee) and on a medium being about 40 miles inland, should comprise an area of 80,000 (evidently a misprint for 8,000 square miles." I think with Mr. Grant that 40 miles is a fair allowance for the breadth but 200 miles is unquestionably too much for the average length, and could only be obtained by following in the measurement the general bend of the coast which would give an unfair result. I had assumed 160 miles by 40 as the dimensions of the district; and afterwards, with the view to greater accuracy, I undertook a detailed estimate from the divisions into square miles of Captain Sackville's correct and valuable map, when I found the area of Cuttack to be as nearly as possible (making a conjectural allowance for the northern jurisdiction of Thana Bustah not included, and taking Khoorhah as given in major Flecher's *hustabood* papers) 6,300 sq. miles. I comprehend in the above for convenience sake the large estates of Aul, Kunka, Coojung and Hurrispoor assessed at a very inadequate *peshcush*, and the *Jagheer* of Malood granted in perpetuity to the late Futteh Mahomed and his heir.

62. The land revenue paid by an extent of country comprising 6,300 sq. miles does not exceed 14,382 sicca rupees.

63. I have before stated that, during my tour throughout the district, I was surprised to observe the vast extent of flourishing cultivation, the considerations arising from which formed a grateful relief to the apparent wretchedness and indigence of the people, and their loud complaint of heavy oppressive assessment,

I observe from a private member shown to me by Captain Sackville, that gentleman has fallen into the unaccountable mistake of calculating the area of Cuttack, exclusive of the tributary states, at upwards of 11,000 sq. miles. Mr. Richardson, in this statistical report has closely copied, or by accident fallen into the very same error, which would lead to singular results as to the probable amount of cultivation and population for the whole.

In some parts of the mofussil, paddy sells at from to nine maunds (Calcutta weight) per sicca rupee, a common is from 5 to 6 maunds.

Of these, tobacco alone is grown in any considerable quantity on some estates particularly situated.

64. It is essential however, to mark that a large proportion of the land in Cuttack yields only one annual crop of rice, which is generally of rather a coarse and inferior description, compared with that grown in Bengal and that its great plenty together with the scarcity of the precious metals, and the fact of cowries being still the chief circulation of the interior, render this main article of produce and subsistence cheap beyond what is known in any other of the company's possessions. An abundant second crop of the commonest pulse, oil seeds and the ricinus or palma christile, is produced on those lands which are *Do-fuslee*, but the richer and more valuable products are here comparatively little cultivated or wholly unknown, such as tobacco, sugar, cotton, indigo, the betel vine, mulberry, &c. It is to be observed also, that, from whatever peculiarities of climates, soil, and mode of cultivation every agricultural product of Cuttack is of a decidedly inferior description to those of the other more favoured provinces subject to the Company's authority. Thus, the cotton of which its few valuable cloths, the Balasore sonnabs, and the better species manufactured at Bhuddrue and Jajpore, are made, must be imported from the Berar countries to the westward, where that article is grown of the very finest quality. The tobacco, the betel, the sugar even the better kinds of *dal* and gram, consumed and required by the more opulent classes, the inhabitants of towns, the Company's sepoys, the public and private servants of the everything in the shape of a luxury, are all imported into the province from Bengal, Berar, or Madras.

65. The above desultory remarks serve to illustrate both the real causes of the poverty of the agricultural population of Cuttack compared with that of other districts and at the same time its inability to pay so high an amount as its neighbours for a given quantity of land under cultivation.

This *jumma* includes the *peskoush* of killah, Aul Kunka, and Coojung.

66. With reference to its whole area, however, Cuttack pays a higher assessment than even Bengal and Behar. The area of Bengal, Behar, and Midnapore is, according to Rennel, 1,19,217 sq. miles. The *Jumma* at the perpetual settlement 2,68,00,939 sicca rupees or scarcely 171 sicca rupees per square mile.

67. The area of Cuttack (excluding the hill countries) is 6,300 sq. miles, and its assessment 14,38,0382 or about 232 sicca rupees. Unless we suppose a much larger proportion of Cuttack to be in cultivation than of the Dewannee Provinces at the time of the perpetual settlement, when the quantity of land wholly waste was vaguely estimated at one third, the assessment of Cuttack must be admitted to be comparatively a very heavy one.

68. A fairer mode of comparison, however, would be to consider only the assessment of the well cultivated district of Bengal before the perpetual settlement, leaving out of the account districts notoriously covered with jungle and irreclaimable wastes, as Sylhet, Chittagang, Ramgurb, the Jungle Mehals &c. The treatise of Mr. Colebrooke on the husbandry of Bengal furnishes the means of instituting such a comparison, (a work which, from its character and

that of the author, I may be allowed to quote with all the confidence of official document). Taking a mean of the districts marked by him as moderately or highly populous and cultivated (1734) and of their respective Jummas a result is given of about 215 sicca rupees only per sq. mile. That of Cuttack 232 sicca rupees, but in the above are included the rich and productive districts of Burdwan, Rajshahye, the 24 Pergunnahs, Behar &c.

69. Average of the above kind are of course uncertain and unsatisfactory to a degree; but as far as they prove anything, they must be allowed to show that Cuttack with reference to its area is assessed equally highly with some and more highly than other districts, in Bengal and Behar of acknowledged value, richness, and fertility.

70. Supposing the above inference warranted, no decisive conclusion, however, could be drawn as to the excess of the whole public demand from the district of Cuttack, unless on a comparison of it with the probable, quantity of land in cultivation, the average rate per beegha should be found oppressively high.

71. The results of my own observations and of such enquiries as I have been enabled to prosecute induce me to make allowances for the whole quantity of land in cultivation corresponding with that computed by Mr. Colebrooke on the grounds of several surveys and ascertainment in Bengal previous to 1734. After deducting one-fourth of the whole area for tracts nearly, or wholly waste he allows three-eighths of the remainder for land tilled and liable for revenue, and one-eighth for rent-free lands, one half of which he supposes to be cultivated. For Cuttack, however, I should propose to alter the rates between lands liable to assessment and lakheraj lands. When I consider the immense extent of country known to exist rentfree, and the very inadequate jummas of the extensive, and in part highly fertile, estates of Aul, Kunka, Coojung, Hurrispoor, &c. included in the general estimate of the area of Cuttack, together with the alienation in perpetuity of Malood, I cannot assign more than two eighths for land on the regular assignment, or one fourth of 4,725 square miles 2,286,416 beeghas of 1,600 square yards, which pay an assessment of 14,38,382 sicca rupees, or little more than 10 annas per beegha.

72. Mr. Richardson (vide statistical report) assigns, from the information of ameens deputed by the Collectors, about 1,200,220 beeghas of land in cultivation and paying assessment. Mr. Richardson does not specify what kind of beegha is intended; a serious omission, as that measure of land in the Mogulbundee varies from 16 to 18, 20, 22, 24 and even 28 dustee. I have taken the soleh dustee or (beegha containing) 1,600 square yards, as used by Mr. Colebrooke from my having had occasion to refer to the calculations of that gentleman. If we suppose Mr. Richardson to mean beeghas of a medium size, or of 2,500 square yards, the above calculation would not differ very materially from the results obtained in a more satisfactory, though still a very questionable manner, by the Revenue authorities.

The limits of districts have been altered since the estimate was formed, of which I am making use; but the assessment remained much the same I believe,

The statement is then given in the remarks on the husbandry any corn increase of Bengal. Rivers and lakes an eighth ... Rs. 3

Deemed irreclaimable and barren (a sixth) 4
Site of towns, villages, highways, ponds &c. a twenty-fourth) 1
Free lands (an eighth) 3
Liable for revenue 9
In tillage (three eight)
Waste (a sixth) 4

Total, 24

I am not aware of any reason why these deductions for the beds of river torrents, lakes and

the sites of villages for lands wholly barren and lying fallow should not be as applicable to Cuttack as to Bengal in 1784 A.D

73. Something below 8 annas sicca was the jumma of Major Fletcher assessed on Khoordah after a hustabood ascertainment of its resources where the beegha is in general only 900 square yards, and where a single crop of rice alone is grown with very inconsiderable exceptions. The rate of 10 annas would be extremely light even for ekfuslee rice lands in the Mogulbunde making every allowance for the loss undoubtedly sustained on account of the exchange of cowries into silver and for those producing a second crop of pulse, oil seeds &c., wholly inadequate, whilst it would leave almost the entire profit of the cultivation of tobacco and other valuable products to the more fortunate, industrious, and enterprising few who might embark in them.

It is to be observed that the average assessment per beegha in Bengal and Behar at the time of the perpetual settlement scarcely exceeded five annas; taking according to Mr. Colebrooke's calculation, three eighths of the whole are of these provinces after deducting one fourth for tracts wholly waste and unproductive, as the quantity of land under cultivation and liable to assessment.

74. In the absence of any certain and correct materials for forming an accurate estimate of the amount of assessment, compared with the proportion of cultivated land paying revenue in Cuttack, I should at once have inferred from a consideration of the great extent of the district and the quantity of land in cultivation, that the whole Government demand from the land holders is not greater than their resources are equal to. Perhaps the calculations attempted above, although grounded on analogous reasoning rather than on any ascertained data, may be allowed to strengthen in some measure the opinion that there is no sufficient reason to believe the district generally speaking over assessed.

75. The jumma of Cuttack has, however, notoriously been fixed or at least augmented at hazard, without any satisfactory ascertainment whatever of the real value and capabilities of the estate from which an increase has been levied, and in consequence of the defective information on which the Revenue authorities have higher proceeded, the unequal apportionment and distribution of the whole demand may have produced much of the evil of over assessment, without any corresponding advantage to Govt. I must here express my decided opinion that some grievances do exist connected with the Government demand from the land, either of actual general excess, or of great inequality of assessment. Some weight must be allowed to the frequent and vehement complaints on the subject preferred to me during my tour through the district by all classes of cultivators and proprietors, ryots, moquddums, surburakars, and zamindars. Besides stating the several additions which have been made to their jumma in silver (the amount of which did often appear startling, within so short a space of time, considering the want of energy, industry, intelligence, and capital of the Oorissas generally), the native zamindars appealed often to the strikingly indigent and poverty-struck condition of the ryots at large, and the distressing fact of the dispossession of upwards of two thirds of the original proprietors and the repeated sales of the same estates, as undeniable evidences of the truth of their assertions.

Many names I believe, are registered for the same estate, particularly where

76. It is indeed difficult to contemplate the unexampled change of property by public and private sale which has taken place during the 12 years of our possession of the province, and the fact of the extreme difficulty experienced each year in collecting the amount of the public demand with tolerable punctuality, without

coming to the conclusion that the landholders of Cuttack have all along laboured under some inextricable embarrassments, of which heavy assessment must certainly have been a leading one. Out of upwards of 3,000 Oorish proprietors, whose names were registered on the first settlement as engaging for the revenues of Cuttack (Vide a letter from Mr. Fonquier, Dt Aug, 1808) now remain in possession whilst the jumma of the lands held by them, i. e., of those which have not passed by sale out of the hands of the original possessors, is not more than 460,000. But from the above should be subtracted as far at least as the present argument is concerned, the zemindaries of Coordes and that of pergunnah Limbaee paying together a jumma of Rs. 1,50,000 per annum, the proprietors of which some time past fell heavily into arrears, and had the ordinary measures been pursued with regard to them, their lands must have been sold long since, but as a matter of peculiar favour and indulgence, granted in consequence of the characters and predicament of the zemindars, Narayan Chotra, and the Rajah of Khoordah. Government have agreed to the liquidation of the large balances due. The original proprietors therefore of lands paying only a jumma of about Rs. 30,00,000 are in possession of their estate at the present moment, when the jumma of the Mogulbundee is 13,93,000 a statement which evinced strikingly the extensive ruin which had overwhelmed the ancient landed interests of the country under the British administration.

engagements were taken from moguldums, which may account for the number of recorded proprietors being greater than the number of mohals, about 2,340.

Vide a statement furnished by the Collector.

77. Neither would it appear that the new purchasers, even when foreigners well acquainted with our system, and possessing capital, intelligence, and a spirit of enterprise have been in many cases able to keep possession of their estates longer, or to turn them to better account than the ignorant and improvident original possessors, whilst the constant failure of farmers in Cuttack, and the ruin of themselves and securities in all their speculations have been repeatedly noticed and commented on.

Vide letters of Mr Scott Warding & of Mr. Richardson on record in the Collector's office on this subject,

78. Much however, may be urged in explanation and qualification on the extensive sale of land, and the generally imperfect collection of the revenue, without its being necessary to resort to the supposition that they arise always or even in the greater number of cases from the actual heaviness of the public demand.

79. Material causes of want of punctuality and ultimate failure in the discharge of their engagements may be found in the extreme rudeness, ignorance, and incivilization of the genuine Oorish proprietors, the entire removal of all those checks to wasteful and thoughtless expenditure of funds on the part of those engaging to pay the public revenue, which are supposed to have existed under the Mahratta Govt. in the close control and minute inspection exercised by the tehsildars and their establishments under the general guidance of the aumil, and the fact that many of the real zemindars had never, or at least not for many years before our acquisition of the province, enjoyed possession of their estates within the Mogulbundee, thereby having lost in a great degree the tact and experience requisite for the management of their concerns.

80. One cannot fail either to observe that the heaviest sales for arrears of revenue took place from 1806 to 1803, when the jumma, although somewhat raised, was much lower than its present rate, and that the transfer of property has rather decreased at least has not increased of late year particularly the sales by auction. The value of landed property also has decidedly risen. But an increase of the former and diminution of the latter may be pronounced certain consequences of the continuous ruinous operation on over assessment. Increased balances, it is true, have generally followed pretty regularly the augmentation of the jumma, but the number of estates actually sold has been in most cases comparatively inconsiderable.

81. It might further be presumed, from a knowledge of the practices and characters of the native amalah in this district, that many of the ignorant, infatuated Ooriah zemindars have been at different times fooled and cheated out of their estates, to which cause should be partly ascribed their very extensive dispossession when every encouragement has been afforded to the people to state their grievances, that I do not think it necessary to enlarge much on this head.

82. It was stated by the present Collector Mr. Trower, long before the origin of these enquiries in some of his letters to the Board of Revenue, that speculators and adventurers have made a practice of trafficking in lands to a great extent in this district, of purchasing estates without any view of retaining possession, and disposing of them again on the first good opportunity, particularly the Musulman amalah, so as to turn a penny. This system whilst, as described by the Collector, it must have been most ruinous to the country, destructive to the prosperity of the ryots, and one of the greatest evils which the foreign amalah have entailed on the district since it came under the British Government, would evidently have contributed to swell greatly and recorded changes of property without affording any just argument either for or against the point under discussion.

83. Cuttack, also as remarked by Mr. Richardson, is peculiarly subject to inundation, notwithstanding all the care and expense bestowed in guarding against its ruinous effects. Even when the system of managing the bunds had become so far improved that they were found in general sufficiently strong to stand against the rush and press of torrents during the usually heavy rain of the late season, the unruly element contrived in many places to baffle all precautions, by rising above and literally overflowing the embankments, so as to occasion considerable damage, although far short of what must have happened had those works been in imperfect order at the time. The state of the seasons here indeed would appear to be peculiarly capricious. Many floods and inundations are recorded since 1804 arising from excess of rain, whilst loss has just as often and perhaps to a more serious extent, been sustained by a total failure of it. I need go no further back than 1220 to prove the truth of the latter assertion when so Mr. Richardson reports, "the periodical rains had fallen to Government my opinion of the failure of crops occasioned in two successive years, 1223 and 1224 by the same cause."

One of the documents appended to the Collector's report exhibits a statement of the prices at which estates paying a jumma of Rs. 4,12 861 sold at the public auction from 1886 to the end of 1816, to foreigners, whether connected or not with the courts the Police the Revenue and Salt, dept. From this it appears that in 1806, 1807 and 1808, estates paying a jumma of Rs. 1,52, 019 sold for Rs. 72,450 or less than one half of the amount of the annual sudder jumma. In 1809, 1810, 1811, & 1812 estates paying a jumma of Rs. 2,75580 sold for Rs. 2, 48,009, or at an advance of 20 per cent. On the sudder jumma, and in 1813, 1814, 1815, and 1816 estates paying a jumma of Rs. 4,124 sold for Rs. 1,03; 957 or for 40 per cent more than the sudder jumma a partial observation of the

rates of which lands have been disposed of by private sale satisfies me that the improvement in price has been still more marked in these.

84. The above remarks tend to point out the expediency of the peculiar moderation and forbearance of the Revenue authorities, and the necessity of occasional remissions. They also serve to explain no remissions having ever, I believe, been granted, that much of the extreme distress and even ruin which have befallen the indigent and improvident landholders of Cuttack, may have arisen from the frequent occurrence of calamitous and unfavourable seasons when the public demand, calculated with reference to an ordinary state of the seasons, was far from oppressive.

85. The sums notoriously and undeniably received by dewans and others at each successive resettlement of the district, the regular collections of police darogahs, and the heavy outlay of all landholders having any business to transact in the courts, must be taken into account in the present discussion. It is obvious that if the sums paid at different times by the landholders to the numerous amalah who have amassed wealth in this district, had gone into the treasury of Government have escaped ruin, and avoided the sale of their estates for trifling arrears of revenue.

86. A candid, unbiased mind, in investigating the seriously important question of whether Cuttack be really over-assessed or not, so long as that question rests chiefly on inference and conjecture, cannot but be struck with the fact that amongst all the Collectors and Commissioners who have had charge of the revenue affairs of this district, to none of them, at least as far as their sentiments are discoverable from the records of the Collector's office has generally excess of assessment ever appeared the cause of the perpetually-recurring sales and changes of property. Many of them indeed have expressed a decided opinion to the contrary, and I cannot but consider the concurring testimony of those who had the best opportunities of knowing the real state of the case to possess much weight.

87. The first testimony on record on this subject is that of Mr. Webb, who, in reporting on the balances of 1806, observes: "This remaining balance is to be attributed to the temper of the people who are not yet habituated to the revenue system of Government but still pursue the system of procrastination which the violence and rapine of the Mahratta Government taught them to resort to." In 1807-8, when the belief of the capability of the land to pay the augmented assessment fixed at the triennial settlement might almost have been staggered by the necessity of selling for arrears estates paying a jumma of upwards of 4½ lakhs, whilst lands to the value of three lakhs more were disposed of by private sale in the course of two years, Mr. Webb was still convinced "that it was not from deficiency of resources; but in the disposition of the people to avoid payment, that the heavy balances were to be found," Mr. Fouier, in a letter dated 30th April 1809, declares his belief that "the general produce of the district was equal to the last three years' assessment, but that the majority of the landed interest were in great distress on account of the pressure of heavy loans which they had been compelled, to take up at an enormous rate of interest by oppression and calamity of season." The Board

of Revenue, in a letter to Government dated October 1810 (copy of which is recorded in the Collector's office) observe : "The heavy balances in Cuttack are owing to want of good faith on the part of the landholders, who spend all they collect, without thinking of how they are to pay Government—a habit acquired under the Mahratta Government who, by exercising coercive measure in the early part of the year, when crops were on the ground, contrived to realize the greater part of the revenue". Mr. J. P. Ward, when referred to by the Board in 1815 for explanation of the enormously heavy balances outstanding, states, in reply that he can explain it only by attributing it to want of punctuality on the part of the zemindars. "It is not want of means," he adds, "which compels them to be thus backward, but sheer indifference on their part." The opinions of Mr. Trower on this subject are fully developed in several letters already before Government. He considers that not only is the district, generally speaking, fairly and moderately assessed, but that it could bear a large increase. Mr. Richardson (vide report to Government on his settlement, dated September 1814, seemed to think the question so clear, that he expressed his surprise that so few estates had been found to be over-assessed, which he considers highly creditable to the vigilance and circumspection of his predecessor Mr. Buller.

Vide letter
dt. May 1815,

88. I regret much that I can produce no new and original information on the question which I have undertaken to discuss. As however, closely connected with the measures which I shall have to propose in the concluding part of my report, I have thought it necessary to state the opinion which I have formed regarding the assessment of the district and the general grounds of it, I cannot think that Government need look to any material diminution of the land revenue in Cuttack from the inability of the district generally to pay the whole amount, and the only way to reconcile this impression with the numerous complaints preferred to me in the interior, supposing them to have any foundation, is by believing that great inequalities exist, and that the assessment does in reality press heavily on many of the poorer and less industrious native zemindars, whilst many of the rich and enterprising foreigners enjoy abundant profits from the landed possessions in Cuttack, or at least the agents employed in the management of them. The sufferers by the unequal distribution of the jumma would of course be clamorous and vehement in their complaints to me, whilst no zemindar will ever admit himself to be a gainer in any way by the produce of his lands,

89. It is scarcely necessary to comment on the ample causes of suffering and discontent developed in the above general discussion, whilst I have been endeavouring to show that the more amount of the Government assessment need not be considered in the greater number of cases to afford any just ground of complaint,

90. I cannot, however, refrain from expressing regret and astonishment at the fact alluded to in paragraph 76 the enormously heavy sales of land for affairs of revenue which took place in this district as early as 1806-8 regret for the blow thus given in the very

outset of our administration to the happiness, contentment, and prosperity of a large portion of the landed interest and the ryots of the country, as well as to the credit and popularity of our system, which then received a shock by the operation of the Revenue Regulations, not to be recovered by years of the most just, upright and efficient discharge of the functions of Judge and Magistrate; astonishment that a system of realizing the whole public demand, acted upon in Bengal generally only, after the country had been many years subject to the Company's authority and the advantages of a perpetual settlement conferred on it, should have been precipitately introduced without warning or preparation, amongst such a people, so rude, so ignorant, so indigent in their circumstances, so new to our habits, principles and characters, and acted upon without the least mercy or forbearance. In the second and third years after the extension of the Bengal Regulations, to Cuttack, estates paying a jumma of $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakh rupees out of a jumma of Rs. 13,00,000 were sold at public auction for arrears of revenue, would have been a less evil than the rigorous enforcement of the rules of the new code. The inadequate value at which these lands sold also immensely aggravate the hardship of the measure, and has justly been termed by the Collector (in his report) little better than downright robbory. To omit all mention of other cases, Moonshee Musseemooddeen, alone the dewan of the gentleman then holding the situation of Collector, purchases in one year at the public auction sales estates paying a jumma of Rs. 53,000 for the sum of Rs. 23,000.

The purchases were of course made benamsee; vide Mr. Trotter's statements annexed to report. The estates in question have, I understand, long since been disposed of to other speculators,

With reference to paragraph 85, it were of course superfluous to observe that, so far as the condition of the landholders and their feelings towards the British Government are concerned, it must be perfectly immaterial whether they were ruined by the excessive demand of Government, or by the exactions of its native officers making use of the influence and authority with which they appeared on the eyes of the district invested to extort and plunder,

92. And on the subject of loss from calamity of season it is my duty to state for the consideration of Government that the refusal to grant any remission for the frequent failure of crops in Cuttack of late years from want or excess of rain, has been constantly urged as a very serious grievance, and introduced into every petition as one of the most unfavourable points of comparison between our revenue system and that of our predecessors who, it is asserted, and I believe with truth, made continual deductions from the rentroll proportioned to the damage sustained, after having resorted to means for ascertaining the real state of the case.

93. I have before expressed distinctly my opinion that some grievances do exist in a considerable portion of Cuttack connected with the settlement of the land revenue which I am not inclined to attribute to general excess of amount, but to a certain extent to the unequal manner in which the demand has been distributed. There exists, I think, another sources of loss and embarrassment which may have augmented the chance both of over-assessment and of inequality of assessment, from its not having hitherto been taken properly

into account, which appears to have operated with peculiarly disadvantageous and detrimental consequences to the ryots at large, and often to have involved the ultimate ruin of the zemindar I mean the state of the Cuttack currency for some years past.

94. I confess that, influenced by the clear and able treatment of the question of the cowry currency by the Accountant General in his letter to Government under date and by the opinions expressed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council in the Resolutions in the Territorial Department, I was originally inclined to regard the complaints on this subject as mere senseless, unfounded clamour. As I proceeded through the interior, however, the earnestness, I might almost say the ununiversality of the complaints relating to the state of the currency again drew my attention particularly to the question the results at which I have finally arrived differ materially from the conclusions formed by the high authorities above adverted to. My views are probably erroneous, and the difficulty which I experience in unfolding them clearly must doubtless and to their apparent want of consistency and foundation. I trust that the details which I have now to submit will be considered with every allowance and indulgence,

95. I have met with numerous and complicated obstacles in my attempts to arrive at a satisfactory solution of this involved and intricate problem. Such is the general ignorance and narrowness of comprehension of the people themselves, that they are evidently unable to form any accurate notion whatever of the precise mode in which the state of the currency affects their interests, talking only of the hardship of being obliged to pay to Government a rupee for every four kahawuns of cowries, when it costs them from six to seven. It is inconceivably difficult also to procure any satisfactory returns of prices for a number of years past in cowries and silver, facts so essential to a proper decision of the question, and the parties concerned appear much too stupid to be able to form anything like an average estimate of whether prices calculated in the one or the other have on the whole increased, decreased, or remained stationary during the last twenty years. Conflicting and opposite interests also evidently actuate the different parties to whom one would naturally appeal for information, in all their statements; the zemindars and ryots being anxious to exhibit the actual price of produce as low as possible with the view of shewing their profits to be inconsiderable, and the mahajun desirous to prove that he makes his purchases in the interior at a high rate, from an apprehension that the present enquiries may have for their object some reduction of the ample gains of the corn dealers and retailers in this district.

96. I never found, however, the least difference of opinion on the part of any of those with whom I converse as to the reality of the grievances connected with the state of the currency to the ryots. Some of the more intelligent natives of the district have expressed to me their utter astonishment at, and total inability to comprehend the object and policy of Government in requiring payment of the whole revenue in silver which, say they, produces no apparent benefit to the Sircar, and is a sure cause of ruin and suffering to the ryot.

97. It will be expedient, first, to advert to a few facts connected with the subject. The assessments of the native Government in all ages past have been calculated and chiefly collected in cowries. The collections were made by the Commissioners during the first year of our possession of the province (1211 Umlee) principally in cowries. The jumma of 1212 was assessed in cowries which were turned into rupees at the rate of 4k 2p, per sicca rupee and engagement taken for the same ; but a large portion of cowries were received in payment of revenue in the Northern Division. The jumma for 1213, 1214, and 1215, was assessed in cowries, which were turned into siccas at the rate of four kahawuns. After that period every augmentation of the jumma was made in silver. Cowries were receivable in payment of revenue to the end of 1215, but it does not appear that many zemindars availed themselves of the permission. Cowries maintained the Government rate of exchange in the market until the end of 1215 when they suddenly fell. They appear to have been at their lowest rate in the Cuttack bazar in 1219, (i. e., about seven kahwuns per rupee). They rose subsequently to that period and again fell, but not to so low a rate as before in the bazar of Cuttack. In the mofussil they appear to have fallen gradually in value ever since 1215-16. But subsequent to the insurrection they have risen everywhere considerably in price compared with silver.

98. I see reason to attribute the altered relation of value between cowries and silver to the joint operation of two causes partly to a depreciation in the value of those shells on account of their being no longer received in payment of revenue, which necessarily occasions a diminished demand for the quantity in circulation ; but principally to a rise in the value of silver in the interior of the district, owing to its scarcity compared with the demand, for the payment of rents to landholders. Consistently with this view there appears to me to have been a general average rise of prices throughout the mofussil calculated in cowries, but not sufficient to enable the ryots to purchase rupees even at the rate of 5k. 12p. without considerable loss in the remote parts ; whilst in the neighbourhood of large towns, where the market is good, where silver circulates in comparative abundance, and the ryots can dispose of nearly their whole produce in that currency. Prices calculated in silver have retained nearly the same average rate as on our first acquisition of the province. Prices in the bazar of Cuttack have certainly risen at least 50 per cent., on an average in cowries since the conquest of the province. The bazar prices in Cuttack are, however, no criteria of those in the interior. I find the general height and immense fluctuations to have been a cause of great complaint here, and I believe justly, for I am persuaded that it was artificial in consequence chiefly of various arts practised in keeping back and monopolizing the supply of grain, in the profits of which is known that the late Town Darogah had a considerable share, and not, as it ought alone to be, of any real rise in value of produce, flowing from the increasing wealth and population of the district. It is curious to observe, however, that whilst the general rate of the great article of growth and consumption of the district rice under the British has exceeded that under the Mahratta Government nearly in the proportion above mentioned, it has always in different years borne some relation, although an imperfect one, to the value of the rupee in cowries. The annexed statement (No. 8)

Vide appendix No. 7.

The prices at the present moment can be no criterion. They would be unusually high compared with former years from the number of troops in the neighbourhood, and also from the

shows that, with one or two exceptions, which admit of explanation and do not therefore affect the general argument, rice has always been cheapest in those years when the rupee would exchange for the greatest number of cowries; that is, according to my view of the case, when silver was most scarce a fact which must be admitted in some degree to prove what I should infer to be the case from a variety of considerations, that the extraordinary fluctuation in the rate of exchange between silver and cowries depend on the plenty or scarcity, chiefly of the former, in the market, the latter remaining pretty nearly a fixed quantity, although lowered altogether in value from the diminished demand for it. These wide variations in the rate of exchange are, I believe unknown elsewhere, and whilst they evince to my mind that the altered relation of value between silver and cowries does not arise merely from the frauds of the money changers, they might almost they might almost of themselves induce the belief that the whole stock of silver current in the market must be very inconsiderable, when any trifling addition or subtraction can immediately occasion great alteration in its value calculated in the common and most familiar currency of the district.

partial scarcity of the three last seasons.

(Continued)

